

JAPANESE AMERICANS AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH:  
THE STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY AND EXISTENCE

A Professional Project

Presented to

the Faculty of School of Theology at Claremont

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Ministry

by

Grant John Hagiya

May 1978

*This professional project, completed by*

Grant John Hagiya,

*has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty  
of the School of Theology at Claremont in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of*

**DOCTOR OF MINISTRY**

*Faculty Committee*

*Sam D. Rhoades*

*Ignacio Castuera*

\_\_\_\_\_

*April 12, 1978*

*Date*

*Joseph C. Hough*

*Dean*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	THEOLOGICAL FOUNDINGS . . . . .	1
2	EARLY BEGINNINGS . . . . .	16
3	THE IMMIGRATION . . . . .	30
4	THE ISSEI GENERATION . . . . .	39
5	TRADITIONAL VALUES OF THE ISSEI . . .	60
6	THE ISSEI AND THE JAPANESE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA . . .	68
7	THE NISEI . . . . .	75
8	THE SANSEI . . . . .	127
9	PRACTICAL NEEDS . . . . .	152
	BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	168
	APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH . . . . .	177

## ABSTRACT

Along with the call for world hunger, the local ethnic Church is the number one priority of the United Methodist Church for the next four years. Up to this point, the ethnic congregations of this country have been largely ignored. The result has been that their numbers have spiraled downward, and they are now fighting for their very existence.

This paper will attempt to examine the struggles of the Japanese American ethnic congregation. It has tried to lay the necessary historical and sociological groundwork that is essential in analyzing the Japanese American Christian Church. Thus, through primary and secondary sources it has attempted to trace the history and situation of the Japanese American people.

The paper's thesis is that the Japanese American ethnic Church is necessary to help facilitate the healthy self-acceptance of Japanese American people. The Japanese American congregation can be the means of healthy psychological liberation and growth for this particular minority group.

The paper is divided into a study of the three different generations of Japanese Americans. All three of these generations have their own unique perspectives, but there are common threads that run through all three, and thus, tie the generations together. One major conclusion of the paper is that all three generations need the Japanese American Christian Church. It is the one organization that can help foster the development and maturity of all three generations. However, it is clear that the Japanese American Christian Church itself must understand the unique needs of its own people. Only with a clear and precise insight into what these needs are will the leadership of the Church be able to minister to them directly.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my people: Whose blood and sweat made this story  
possible.

To my parents and sister: Whose guidance helped liberate  
me.

To my wife: Whose love and concern continue to uplift  
me.

## CHAPTER 1

### THEOLOGICAL FOUNDINGS

One of the most potent and vibrant theological voices of today is coming from our Latin American brothers and sisters. In a world of vast inequities, their voices ring as a prophetic call for justice. It is the essence of their message that will provide some of the theological groundings for this paper.

It should be clear from the beginning that this author is not taking Latin American Liberation Theology and trying to fit it into the Japanese American scheme in a wholesale fashion. Rather, by taking various liberation theology principles he will attempt to show how they apply to the all ready lived situation of Japanese Americans.

In this sense, theology grows out of a lived concrete experience of a particular minority group. As a minority group, the Japanese Americans have a different social, psychological, and spiritual orientation that separates them from any other minority group. In their struggle for liberation, they are in the continual process of creating their own theology, and establishing their own means of liberating themselves. In this regard, liberation theology has a very definite meaning for them as a people. Hopefully, the context of this meaning can be laid out in this first chapter.

The classical text in liberation theology is Gustavo Gutierrez's A Theology of Liberation. In this book Gutierrez outlines three levels in which liberation is to be carried out.

These three levels are:

1. Political Liberation.
2. The Liberation of man throughout history.
3. Liberation from sin and admission to communion with God.<sup>1</sup>

The first level is the economic, social, and political liberation that is required to set the oppressed free. It deals with the real, concrete, and transforming power of politics in the world. This first level expresses the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed people of the world, and emphasizes the inherent dialectic between themselves and the wealthy people of the world. It represents an external form of liberation. It is the very chains that shackle, the economic systems that keep nations poor, and the colonial mentality that rapes and ravages the oppressed.

The second level is seen in the context of understanding history. It is the process by which humans come to realize that they can in fact create history. Rubem Alves speaks of this in

---

<sup>1</sup>Gustavo Gutierrez. A Theology of Liberation (New York: Orbis, 1973), p. 176.



terms of human people being creatures that are open. Because human beings are open they are able to respond instead of simply reacting. In this regard, to respond belongs to the sphere of freedom, and when people do respond the world becomes different--it becomes historical.<sup>2</sup> For both Alves and Gutierrez the central issue is the freedom to create history. As Alves says, this freedom's end point is to create a more humane society.<sup>3</sup>

However, both of these liberation theologians realize that creation of history is only possible through power. Here, it is quite clear that power is politics, and to engage in the creation of history means the engagement of political activity. Again, this relates to a very external form of liberation. The power inherent in politics is manifested in laws, and the ability to back up these laws by some concrete form of force.

The last level is rooted in the liberation from sin, and the ability to enter into communion with God and all other men.<sup>4</sup> This is the level of faith. It is liberation on an internal level. As Gutierrez remarks:

---

<sup>2</sup>Rubem Alves. A Theology of Human Hope (St. Meinrad: Abbey Press, 1975), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Gutierrez, p. 235.

In the Bible, Christ is presented as the one who brings us liberation. Christ the Savior liberates man from sin, which is the ultimate root of all disruption of friendship and of all injustices and oppression. Christ makes man truly free, that is to say, he enables man to live in communion with him; and this is the basis for all human brotherhood.<sup>5</sup>

This is internal liberation expressed in the language of faith. There is a secular dimension to this internal liberation also. In this secular sense, internal liberation means that one is freed on a psychological level. In this regard, there is a stable and healthy acceptance of one's selfhood. It is a psychological affirmation of one's self--a healthy image of who one is. It is represented by a sense of self-worth and self-respect.

Gutierrez concludes that these three levels effect each other, but they retain distinct identities. As he puts it: "they are all part of a single all encompassing salvific process, but they are to be found at different levels."<sup>6</sup>

In a holistic sense, true liberation can only come when the external oppressive structures are lifted, as well as the internal oppressions that we carry inside of us as human beings. This is an important distinction because true liberation for any minority

---

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

group can only be possible when both the external and internal oppressions are lifted. As Guiterrez says:

But modern man's aspirations include not only liberation from exterior pressures which prevent his fulfillment as a member of a certain social class, country or society. He seeks likewise an interior liberation, in an individual and intimate dimension; he seeks liberation not only on a social plane but also on a psychological. He seeks an interior freedom understood however as an ideological evasion from social confrontation or as the internalization of a situation of dependency.<sup>7</sup>

Paulo Freire, shows how interconnected the internal and external oppressions are. In his first chapter, Freire outlines the perimeters of oppression. He begins his discussion with the dichotomy of humanization and dehumanization. Freire sees dehumanization not only imposed on those who are oppressed, but as a characteristic of those who are doing the imposing--most notably, the oppressors. Of course, dehumanization is the antithesis of humanization. As Freire puts it: "It is the distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human."<sup>8</sup>

In an external sense, Freire insists that dehumanization occurs in history, but is not the end product of history. It is a

---

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>8</sup>Paulo Friere. Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), p. 28.

concrete reality, but not the destiny of the world. It stems from an unjust order that dehumanizes both oppressors and the oppressed.<sup>9</sup>

The oppressors frame of reference to dehumanize everything manifests itself in turning everything around them into "things." Once everything in the world is reduced to inanimate objects, oppressors can exploit and dominate at will. As Freire asserts:

The oppressor consciousness tends to transform everything surrounding it into an object of its domination. The earth, property, production, the creation of men, themselves, time--everything is reduced to the status of objects at his disposal.<sup>10</sup>

Once all things are reduced to mere objects, a price tag can be put on every one of them. Anything in the world can be bought and sold, and even existence takes on a materialistic flavor. "Money is the measure of all things," Freire states, "and profit the primary goal. For the oppressors, what is worthwhile is to have more--always more--even at the cost of the oppressed having less or nothing. For them, to be is to have and to be the class of the 'haves.'"<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.,

Freire concludes that this dehumanization by the oppressor stems from a sadistic tendency. It is the pleasure of complete domination over another, and he uses Eric Fromm's assertion that it is the product of a sadistic drive.<sup>12</sup> However, this is a perverted sense of life. It is anti-life--the opposite of what it means to be fully human.

This is the task of the oppressed--to foster a sense of humanization. As oppressed people, they must strive to liberate not only themselves, but the oppressors as well.

This is a great deal to ask of the oppressed. The practical reality of the situation is that most of the oppressed simply want to turn the tables around on their oppressors. At this simple level, the oppressed cannot break out of the circuitous frame of reference of oppressed-oppressors. As Freire says of them:

Because of their identification with the oppressor, they have no consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of an oppressed class. It is not to become free men that they want agrarian reform, but in order to acquire land and thus become landowners--or, more precisely, bosses over other workers. It is a rare peasant who, once "promoted" to overseer, does not become more of a tyrant towards his former comrades than the owner himself. This is because the context of the peasant's situation, that is, oppression, remains unchanged. In this example, the overseer, in order to make sure of his job, must be

---

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

as tough as the owner--and more so. Thus is illustrated our previous assertion that during the initial stage of their struggle the oppressed find in the oppressor the model of "manhood."<sup>13</sup>

Freire concludes that the oppressed not become "oppressors of the oppressed," but the restorers of the humanity of both.<sup>14</sup>

There must be created a "New Man." Forgiving the sexist language of the translation, this "New Person" must go completely beyond the frame of reference of oppressor-oppressed. As Freire describes this new person:

The man who emerges is a new man, viable only as the oppressor-oppressed contradiction is superseded by the humanization of all men. Or to put it another way, the solution of this contradiction is born in the labor which brings into the world this new man: no longer oppressor, nor longer oppressed, but man in the process of achieving freedom.<sup>15</sup>

But how is this new person to be created? How are the oppressed going to achieve this state? Here, Freire can only give suggestive steps in reaching an answer. The final answer can only come through the process of praxis--thoughtful reflection coupled with viable action.

---

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-31.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.

The first step for the oppressed must be the realization that the reality of oppression in the world today is not a fixed one from which there is no escape. It is better to view oppression as a limiting obstacle which the oppressed can transform through the process of praxis. Praxis is in a sense, the vehicle to a liberating pedagogy; it is the key in opening the door to the new person.

Freire sees two other important stages in a liberating pedagogy. In his own words:

In the first, the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation. In the second stage, in which the reality of oppression has already been transformed, this pedagogy ceases to belong to the oppressed and becomes a pedagogy of all men in the process of permanent liberation. In both stages, it is always through action in depth that the culture of domination is culturally confronted. In the first stage this confrontation occurs through the change in the way the oppressed perceive the world of oppression; In the second stage, through the expulsion of the myths created and developed in the old order, which like specters haunt the new structure emerging from the revolutionary transformation.<sup>16</sup>

Freire articulates a sophisticated scheme, yet he is well grounded in the theological and biblical sense. For at the heart of his ethic is the push for humanization. Freire sees any act as

---

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

oppressive which deprives one from becoming more fully human.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the oppressors have perpetuated a death affirming system. It then is the task of the oppressed to break free from the many tentacles of this anti-life culture, and to find their way to a "life affirming humanization."<sup>18</sup>

It becomes very clear that for Freire the internal and external levels of oppression are so tied together that you cannot separate one from the other. However, when he speaks of the "new person," it is directly along the lines of Gutierrez's third level of liberation, namely, the level of faith. When the new person comes into being, she/he will not take on, nor desire the frame of reference of the oppressors. Once this level is attained, there is a liberation from sin, and the doors are completely open to communion with God, and one's fellow human beings.

In reading the scriptures one finds that Freire's very concept of the "new person" is hardly an original idea--it comes directly from the New Testament. As the writer of Ephesians puts it, Christ has fostered a cosmic reconciliation, and:

---

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 55.



. . . by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end. (Ephesians 2:16-17)

Thus, this "new man" that the Scriptures speak of is what all Christians should strive for. To "put on a new nature" becomes the ethical imperative (Ephesians 4:24; Colossians 3:10; Epistle to Diognetus 2.1)<sup>19</sup>

With this "new nature" humans reach their highest goal by attaining the "image of God." As Colossians 3:10 reads: ". . . and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator."

In its concluding statement on the new man, the Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible remarks, that the new man term is not only Christological, but like the term "Christ" itself (Romans 8:10, Galatians 2:20; Philippians 1:21; Colossians 3:3-4) also designates humankind's true nature and self. Humankind's true nature is described as the "inner-man."<sup>20</sup> As Ephesians 3:16-18 reads:

---

<sup>19</sup>J.M. Robinson. "New Man," in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), III, p. 543.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

That according to the riches of his glory he may grant you to be strengthened with might through his Spirit in the inner man, and that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith; that you, being rooted and grounded in love, may have power to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth, and length and height and depth . . .

Finally, the prospect of becoming a "new person" is a process that should be seen as a life-affirming goal. All Christians should engage in this goal to the ends that: "We may present every man mature in Christ." (Colossians 1:28).

Thus, this life affirming goal is one of the essential messages in the Bible. We as human beings are created in the very image of God (Genesis 1:27), and this suggests that our possibilities and potentialities are unlimited in number. Yahweh affirms this in the very creation of man and woman--"and behold, it was very good." (Genesis 1:31). This life affirming theme is at the heart of the Israelite spirit, and it is carried over into the New Testament with equal vibrance.

In this author's opinion, Jesus' entire ministry was one that was life-affirming, and life engaging. As the writer of the Fourth Gospel put it, Jesus' ministry on earth is to enable people to find life, and to have it "in all its fullness." (John 10:10 New English Bible).

It seems clear that the Scriptures provide the foundation for the theme of humanization, life-affirmation, and the freeing of people. These themes are central to the message of the New Testament, and the Latin American theology of liberation.

For the Japanese American, these concepts from the Bible and liberation theology have a very definite meaning. For a complete liberation to take place, Japanese Americans need both the external as well as internal dimensions liberated. In the chapters to follow one will see by taking a historical journey how the external and internal dimensions have been dealt with by the Japanese Americans. The chapters will be arranged in a generational scheme. By dealing with each generation in a historical and sociological context, one will see how each generation has dealt with the concepts of liberation differently than the next.

To provide a logical framework for the following chapters, it seems to be in order to discuss briefly how each generation has dealt with this issue of liberation. From this basis the reader can decide whether this author has successfully demonstrated these conclusions or not.

For the first generation of Japanese immigrants to this country, liberation was viewed in a totally external fashion. They came to the new land to make money, to be financially secure, but never intending to stay in America. They neither cared, nor wished

to deal with the internal level. They knew who they were; they knew where their roots and values were. They were a product of the old country; they associated and identified with the land of their birth. Yet, for many reasons they slowly began to identify with the new land. A very slow growing seed had been planted inside of them. The dream to return home was laid aside, and this provided the soil in which the second generation was to be born in.

The second generation was caught between two worlds (i.e., Japan and the United States), and whereas they had to deal with the external dimension of liberation, they were dominated by the problem of an internal liberation (in the secular sense identified earlier). Being caught between two cultures, they were suspended as non-entities of both. In order to adjust to this internal turmoil, the second generation strived to eliminate all the external oppressions that they were faced with. They did this by achieving educational, economic, and social status for themselves as a people. But whereas, they have freed themselves on the external level of liberation, they have failed dismally on Gutierrez's third level of faith. It is for this reason that they are not liberated in the full sense of the word, but rather captives of their own internal oppression.

For the most part the third generation has achieved external liberation via the hard work of their parents. The success

of the second generation has meant educational and financial security for the third. However, the third generation has not been driven by the motivation to knock down those external barriers of oppression. They have not had to fight and scrap for their success, but rather it has been handed to them by their parents. The results have created an even greater sense of turmoil (in the secular sense of internal liberation) for the third generation. Whereas the second generation could put all of their strength and energy into the achieving of external liberation, the third generation has no such self-preserving cause. With such a history and social context, it is little wonder why the third generation faces such an immense identity problem.

It becomes readily apparent, however, that while the second generation failed to achieve the faith element of internal liberation, it remains the lasting hope of the third generation. If a realistic pedagogy of the oppressed can be implemented with this third generation, then they have a shot at achieving the new person status of the New Testament. It is on this basis that the third generation has a fundamental need for the ethnic Christian Church. Hopefully, this Church can be the mid-wife in the creation of the new person for the Japanese Americans.

With this thesis then, let us proceed to unfold the unique history and sociological context of the three generations of Japanese Americans.

## CHAPTER 2

### EARLY BEGINNINGS

For all intents and purposes, the Japanese American story begins in the Meiji era of Japanese history (1868-1911). However, to fully understand the situation, one needs to be aware of the interlocking historical period that directly precedes the Meiji--most notably, the Tokugawa period (1603-1868).

The name Tokugawa comes from the clan that ruled the Shogunate from 1603 to the time the Emperor Meiji took over control in 1868. The shogunate itself was the ruling entity in Japan since it was established by Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199).<sup>1</sup> The Shogun was the military head of the most powerful family among the nobility. Yoritomo had so much power that he left the hereditary monarch on the throne, and used him for window dressing. He stripped the Emperor of all power, and took a tight grasp on the controlling reins of the country. The Emperor, allowed to live was deserted in poverty, and stuck away in the ancient capital of Kyoto.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Kenneth Latourette. The History of Japan (New York: Macmillan, 1947), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup>Ernest Best. Christian Faith and Cultural Crisis: The Japanese Case (Leiden: Brill, 1966), p. 3.

Yoritomo was the first Shogun. Historian Kenneth Latourette gives this explanation of Yoritomo and his title:

This military organization was called the Bakufu, literally, "tent office." Yoritomo was its head and in 1192 was given the title of "shogun." Strictly speaking the word "shogun," meaning "general," was not new but had for some time been a common name for military officers of the highest rank. It now took on a new significance, that of the "military dictator."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the Shogunate was the ruling force in Japan until the Meiji restoration.

The Tokugawa came to power through military means. The Tokugawa clan defeated a group of other clans during a fairly brief civil war. When the Tokugawa family first took control they were faced with the problem of maintaining their power. To keep this power they set up a rather elaborate system of internal control. Without a doubt, one of the most far-reaching policies that the Tokugawa clan put into operation was to isolate Japan from the rest of the world. As Milton Meyer describes it:

Tokugawa Ieyasu (the Tokugawa Shogun) and his immediate successors were faced with the fundamental choice of resisting or accepting change. Recalling the previous periods of political disunity and of the terrible civil wars, they chose as their

---

<sup>3</sup>Latourette, pp. 36-37.

foremost policies political stability and national isolation. They resisted change, tried to control and freeze society in a number of ways, and suppressed many of the creative tendencies in the land.<sup>4</sup>

It is quite evident that these Tokugawa leaders closed the country out of a fear of foreign imperialism, but some historians also cite evidence that the Tokugawa leaders were more afraid of their enemies within the country. In this respect, foreign elements could easily influence the defeated clans, giving them the weapons and organizations to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogun. This great fear of being overthrown from both within and from without was the primary reason for the closing off of Japan by the Tokugawa leaders.

Of course, the closing off of the country meant the outlawing of foreign trade, foreign contracts, foreign ideas, and foreign religions, most notably Christianity. In actuality, Christianity had gained a foothold in Japan a littler earlier than the Tokugawa period. Reportedly, the Portuguese were the first Westerners to land in Japan. The traditional story goes that in 1542 or 1543 a Portuguese ship was blown off course and landed on the Southern tip of Japan.

---

<sup>4</sup>Milton Meyer. Japan: A Concise History (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966), p. 70.



After this initial contact more Portuguese ships appeared, and the Southern feudal lords traded regularly with the Portuguese.<sup>5</sup>

Soon after these commercial contacts were established, missionaries followed. The Jesuit St. Francis Xavier was persuaded to go to Japan, and along with a fellow missionary landed in Southern Kyushu in 1549.<sup>6</sup> Xavier preached and evangelized for two years in Japan, and after him numerous other Jesuits arrived to carry on the cause. Apparently at first the missionaries were well received. Meyer paints this picture:

In spite of linguistic problems, the Japanese at first received the clerics well, and Nobunaga himself bestowed favors on them. Converts were made from the ranks of both commoners and of daimyo (family clans). The leaders were not only impressed with the firearms brought by the Westerners but with cultural aspects of Christianity. Some, for political reasons, saw in the new faith a counterpoise to Buddhism. Others professed to see resemblances to Buddhism in doctrine and in country of origin, for Catholicism had come to Japan from India. There were probably many sincere converts, as well as those who joined the church from political or economic motives.<sup>7</sup>

However, it did not take long for the Japanese leaders to grow suspicious of the Christian influence. In 1587 the Shogun

---

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>6</sup>Best., p. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Meyer., pp. 74-75.

leader Hideyoshi issued a decree ordering all Christian missionaries to leave Japan. The decree was not taken seriously, or enforced, but in 1597 Hideyoshi flexed his power behind the original decree; it was in this year that he ordered the first major wave of executions of Christians. Six Franciscans, three Japanese Jesuits, and seventeen Japanese laymen were crucified at Nagasaki.<sup>8</sup>

Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa leader eased up in the persecution of Christians. In the interest of trade, he even befriended Spanish missionaries. But then he became convinced that he could maintain trade ties without tolerating Christianity. Ieyasu thus reverted back to the original policy of Hideyoshi, and began to persecute Christians. From about 1613 on, this was the official policy of the Shogun. The succeeding Shogun carried on this policy with even more bloodthirstiness. After 1617 persecution mounted, and all missionaries were killed or forced to leave Japan. Best reports that between the period 1614 and 1635 two-hundred and eighty thousand Christians were said to have suffered for their faith.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>9</sup>Best., p. 20.

During this period even native Christians were ruthlessly executed. As Meyer writes:

Thousands of Japanese Christians were faced with martyrdom unless they renounced their faith. A common practice of the time to ferret out Christians was to order those suspected of the faith to tread upon a cross, or some other sacred symbol or icon, and to execute those who refused.<sup>10</sup>

These persecutions continued until a rather dramatic ending climaxed the Christian influence in the Tokugawa era. In 1637-1638, the peasantry of a small village near Nagasaki staged a rebellion against the economic, agrarian, and religious oppression of the Shogunate. The uprising itself had an unusual quality, for the rebels were Christian converts. The leadership of the peasants was provided by some dissatisfied ronin (masterless samurai), who led some 30,000 peasants in the revolt. Historians tell that this group of peasants held out in an old fortress for almost three months against the impossible odds of over 100,000 trained Shogunate troops who were supported by Dutch naval power. Against such force the Christian rebels were eventually eliminated, and with them died Christianity as an organized religion. Meyer estimates at the time there were about a half million Christian converts, all of whom could not breathe a word of Christianity after

---

<sup>10</sup>Meyer., p. 76.

the uprising was over. Furthermore, Meyer concludes, "that the intertwined political, economic, and religious character of the uprising alarmed the bakufu, and it gave impetus to the exclusion policy."<sup>11</sup>

As anyone can see, this rebellion was not a small scale skirmish. Best reports that over 33,000 people lost their lives in it.<sup>12</sup> The ruling shogunate also used massive force to quell the uprising, which points to the fear that the Tokugawa Shogunate had of Christianity at the time. However, with this one massive stroke of suppression, the Tokugawa government purged itself clean of the Christian influence until Perry reopened Japan with his black ships and massive guns in 1853.

When Perry arrived in 1853, the Tokugawa Shogunate was on its last leg. Internal opposition to the Tokugawa rulers was growing stronger and stronger, and it is doubtful that the damiyo would have remained in power even if Perry did not arrive. However, Perry's arrival just might have speeded up matters in the eventual downfall of the Tokugawa rule. When Perry did arrive (and to the Japanese, Perry represented all of Western Civilization)

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.,

<sup>12</sup>Best., p. 20.

the Shogun was faced with a situation in which he could not win.

As Ian Nish describes the situation:

When Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States navy sailed into Tokyo bay on 8th of July, 1853, he symbolized for the Japanese the challenge of Western intrusion into their divine islands. Such an intrusion had long been expected from the Russians, the British, or the Americans. When it finally came, it set in motion forces which led to the downfall of the seemingly impregnable Tokugawa government and the restoration of imperial rule. It was not, of course, that Perry caused this political upset, but rather that he all unknowingly stepped into a complicated internal situation in which the opposition to the shogunate was ready to make capital out of any false move. In view of the shogun's domestic opposition, it was most difficult for him to decide how to act towards the foreign intruder. Whichever way he acted, it would unite factions against him. In the event, his decision led to the catastrophic downfall of his regime which is one of the turning points in Japan's history.<sup>13</sup>

At this time, historians are quite certain that the majority of people in Japan did not want to open the country up to foreigners. Yet the foreign powers themselves were determined not to let Japan close herself off. Nish reports that upon Perry's return to Japan in the spring of 1854, Perry informed the Japanese during negotiations that they must either give him a treaty or expect a declaration

---

<sup>13</sup>Ian Nish. A Short History of Japan (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 78.

of war. Nish reports that Japan conceded to this demand by opening up ports at Shimoda and Hakodate, and by providing for the appointment of an American consul.<sup>14</sup>

As one can see from the following, the Tokugawa shogunate did not have too much choice. However, rival clans simply used the theme of bowing to the West to gain opposition to the Tokugawa. These rival clans switched their attitude toward the West, and instead of advocating the closing off of Japan attempted to cooperate with the foreign powers. As Nish describes it:

There now took place one of the strangest volteface in history. Those, who had earlier been the most effective practical exponents of expelling the barbarians, came round to seeing the advantages of co-operating with them. They gave up their rallying-cry, and, foreseeing a civil war in the near future, tried to win over the representatives of the foreign powers. They were impressed with the need to improve their military forces and defenses and could only secure this by co-operating with the foreigner.<sup>15</sup>

With the internal pressures of Japan mounting, the situation finally broke out into a brief civil war. Starting in 1865, rival clans revolted against the Tokugawa shogunate.<sup>16</sup> Bowing to a

---

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>16</sup>W.G. Beasley. The Meiji Restoration (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 233.

superior fighting force, the Tokugawa Shogunate was soundly defeated. The rival clans yielded their authority to the royal emperor Mutsuhito, a 15-year old lad who had just ascended to the throne. Mutsuhito assumed the reign name of Meiji (meaning Enlightened one), and thus, became the central figure in the next five decades of Japanese history.

On January 3, 1868, Emperor Meiji published an edict that all power be restored to him, and that the office of Shogun was to be abolished. Although the civil war was not yet over, this edict would be carried out, and the Tokugawa Shogunate would soon cease to exist.

The opening of Japan brought about a great deal of trade with foreign nations. Naturally, much of this trade was one-sided. Not having the economic shrewdness that comes with years of international bartering, Japan was subject to a great many treaties and deals that favored the foreign nations. However, Japan was fairly quick to realize these inequities, and more than anything wished to be independent enough to produce its own goods. To this we can take it one step further, Japan wished to compete against the foreign nations in the production of goods. Some historians see this desire to compete with the West as one of the main factors in the willingness of Japan to open the doors to foreigners. Thus, Nish remarks:

Once the unequal treaties allowed foreign goods to enter Japan, the Japanese were quickly converted to the need for making them themselves. Partly they seem to have wanted to be able to resist foreign intrusion by using the foreigner's own weapons and partly they wanted to catch up on the rest of the world industrially. It was thus fear and jealousy of things foreign, rather, than admiration, that caused them to discard their xenophobia.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the motives, Japan was convinced that industrialization was the key to successful competition. Thus, Japan began to institute modern industry. It proved to be a tremendously steep up-hill climb however. Not only would actual factories have to be built, but Japan lacked all the supportive structures for industry (e.g., systems of distribution, transportation, communication and advertising).<sup>18</sup>

All of this meant the raising of a great sum of funds-- funds that the government did not have in its possession at the time. The capital would have to be raised from somewhere, and given the fact that down to 1912, half the working population was employed in agriculture, and the land tax was the main stay of government revenues, it would seem that the burden would fall on the farmer.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup>Nish., pp. 86-87.

<sup>18</sup>Meyer., p. 116.

<sup>19</sup>Nish., p. 92.



That the farmer paid for the development of industry in Japan is a well documented fact. As Best describes it:

The land tax, a heavy burden of small peasants, furnished over 90 percent of state tax revenues in the early seventies. Twenty years later it still accounted for as much as 60 percent. . . . It was propitious for the new state that there were such improvements in agriculture, for the burden of industrializing the country fell upon the peasants. Lack of any substantial amount of foreign trade, plus the unequal Trade Treaties which only allowed a 5 percent import tax, added to the fact that Japan had to import the great bulk of heavy machinery which went into her industrial plant and its hinterland, closed every other avenue for the realization of capital to the bureaucracy.<sup>20</sup>

Meyer reports that in 1873 the land tax was fixed at three percent in money on the assessed value of land rather than on harvest yields. This meant that the farmer was responsible for the same amount of tax in times of good or bad crops.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, it can be seen that it was a very difficult time for the farmer and the landowner, both of whom felt victimized at the expense of modernization. As mentioned above, the land tax of 1873 had to be paid in currency whether or not there was a good harvest year or not. The farmer, being squeezed by the government had to resort to double cropping to stay above water. This of

---

<sup>20</sup>Best., pp. 56-57.

<sup>21</sup>Meyer., p. 118.

course meant more cash outlay for fertilizers and equipment. The farmers were in the middle and being bombarded from all sides. It is no wonder that many of them lost their land around this time. Best reports that 52 persons lost their land in 1879 and by 1883, this number increased to 493. Between 1883 and 1890, 367 to 744 peasants lost their land.<sup>22</sup>

It is very interesting to note that the Christian movement began to make a re-introduced impact on Japan during this time. Up until the Meiji restoration, Christianity was strongly opposed by Japan's leaders. It was virtually eliminated by the Tokugawa purges of 1638, and not allowed to be practiced right up to Perry's entry in 1853. However, when Japan opened herself to trade with the foreign powers Christianity naturally accompanied the traders, even though it was still hotly opposed by the Japanese leaders. For a time, Christianity naturally allied itself with the farmers in their protest over government taxation. The social sanctions against Christianity relaxed as the farmers listened to the Christian leaders who spoke to them as citizens who possessed rights as well as duties. As Best describes the situation:

Many Christians were involved in this struggle (farmers vs. taxation) and for a brief period, at least opposition to Christianity in the

---

<sup>22</sup>Best., pp. 58-59.

countryside, especially around Tokyo, relaxed. The result was a remarkable growth in the number of persons seeking baptism, and in the establishment of churches in this area, notably in Chiba Ken.<sup>23</sup>

Again, it can be seen that Christianity was not a totally foreign element to the Japanese. It was nowhere near a major religion of Japan, but its concepts and ideas were more than familiar to a small percentage of the population.

---

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

### CHAPTER 3

#### THE IMMIGRATION

So it was out of this milieu described in the preceding chapters that Japanese first immigrated to Western shores in the late 1800's. Japan was in the state of transition, and the farmers and peasants were paying for it. The economic situation was such that it prompted some to consider immigration. Undoubtedly, the distorted image that Japanese had of America also led to this consideration. Like the Chinese before them, the Japanese saw America as the land of "Golden opportunity." They pictured the San Francisco streets as literally "paved in gold."

However, there were never waves of Japanese immigrants landing on Western shores. Daniels verifies this when he cites evidence that there were less than 300,000 Japanese immigrants from the time period of 1861 to 1952.<sup>1</sup> There are many reasons for the fact that Japanese did not flock to America in huge numbers. Probably, the most important stem from cultural reasons. The family has always been very important to the Japanese, and

---

<sup>1</sup>Roger Daniels. The Politics of Prejudice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 1.

immigration many times meant the breaking up of families--something that the Japanese do not take lightly.

The immigrants that did risk coming to America were mostly young men who would come for only a short time, make a great deal of money, and then return home to their families. The statistical evidence supports this description. As Hosokawa writes:

(That around the turn of the century) the Japanese counsel's figures at that time showed there were 5,861 Japanese in all of California--5,620 males, 241 females.<sup>2</sup>

To this Hosokawa also adds:

But getting back to the "typical" Issei, chances are that he was quite young when he arrived. If immigration Commission figures are to be believed, 22.6 percent were under twenty years of age when they arrived in the U.S. and 53 percent under twenty-five.<sup>3</sup>

The initial plan of these young men was fool proof. They would come to America, work hard to make a great deal of money, and then return home to Japan where they would live like kings. It was the "American Dream;" it was a locked-tight plan that had no flaws. The best laid plans of mice and men.

---

<sup>2</sup>Bill Hosokawa. Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: Morrow, 1969), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

Evidence that many of these early immigrants wished to return is cited by Professor Shotaro Miyamoto of the University of Washington. Professor Miyamoto quotes an Issei community leader in a paper published in 1939:

All of them came over here with the idea that they would stay for about three years, and then go back to Japan to set up their own businesses. Among all whom I know, I can say that not one in a hundred stayed here all the time. The rest of them went back to Japan after a few years, and they came to America again only after they failed in their native land, and found that life in Japan was harder than life over here. But even then, I think in the bottom of their hearts they wanted to go back to Japan to live.<sup>4</sup>

To further add to this evidence, Hosokawa writes:

When they first arrived, few had thoughts of remaining permanently in the United States. The majority saw America as a land of economic opportunity which would provide them the means of gaining the security of land ownership when they returned home, a measure of status, and freedom from predatory money leaders.<sup>5</sup>

The situation here in the United States in the late 1800's was not a favorable one for the Japanese immigrants. In California where the vast majority of immigrants landed, there was a wave of anti-Chinese legislation and immigration restrictions. After 1850 there had been a great deal of Chinese immigration to the United

---

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

States. The stereotype of the "Coolie laborer" was attached to the Chinese immigrant, and a flood of protest developed against these early Chinese immigrants. In 1882 the first Congressional Chinese exclusion Act was put into operation, and Chinese were cut off from legally entering this country. This atmosphere of anti-Chinese feeling carried over quite naturally to the Japanese upon their entry (in fairly large numbers) in this country. There was still a need for cheap labor, and many business interests saw in the Japanese a way of replacing the Chinese as a source of cheap labor. In 1884 the Japanese government exercised a new policy--one in which they allowed laboring classes to emigrate to foreign countries to work.<sup>6</sup>

About this same time, Hawaii was in desperate need of plantation workers. In the same year of 1884 the independent government of Hawaii (which was mostly controlled by business interests) signed a convention with the Japanese government which permitted Hawaiian sugar plantation owners to import Japanese laborers under contract.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Frank Chuman. The Bamboo People (Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976), p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.,

The results of this convention were far reaching in the history of Japanese Americans. The first group of immigrants known as the "Gannen Mono" arrived in 1884, and after this time there was a steady flow of Japanese contract laborers to Hawaii. After 1884, there were also more Japanese immigrants coming to the mainland United States. Some of the Japanese laborers filtered through to the mainland shores via Hawaii, but more came directly to the west coast from Japan. As mentioned previously, there were never "hordes" of Japanese coming to the mainland. Various writers cite different statistics when it comes to Japanese immigration, but according to the official compilations of U.S. immigration statistics these figures are given:



TABLE 1  
Japanese Immigrants to Mainland<sup>8</sup>  
United States, 1861-1940\*

Period	Number	Percent of all Immigrants
1861-1870	218	0.01
1871-1880	149	0.02
1881-1890	2,270	0.04
1891-1900	27,982	0.77
1901-1907	108,163	1.74
1908-1914	74,478	1.11
1915-1924	85,197	2.16
1925-1940	6,156	0.03

\*Not including emigrants from Hawaii after its annexation.

---

<sup>8</sup>William Petersen. Japanese Americans (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 15.

Even these official government statistics are not completely accurate, but they give the objective evidence that there were not massive Japanese immigrants coming to this country. A more accurate figure of how many Japanese were in America comes when one includes the number of native born Japanese Americans in the United States. Daniels gives this valuable information in the following table:

TABLE 2

Immigrants and Native Born Japanese<sup>9</sup>  
in the United States 1880-1930

Date	U. S. (Immigrants)	Native Born In California
1880	148	86
1890	2,039	1,147
1900	24,326	10,151
1910	75,157	41,356
1920	111,010	71,952
1930	138,834	97,456

---

<sup>9</sup>Daniels., p. 1.

In summary then, the Japanese American immigration to the United States was not characterized by huge waves of immigrants, but rather was demonstrated by a small and steady flow of young Japanese rural farmers and peasants. There were many reasons for Japanese coming to America, among which include the changing economic situation in Japan, the opening up of Japan to the West, the Japanese image of America, the Chinese legislative restrictions, and the need for cheap laborers in the United States. Having laid some of the historical groundwork that preceded the Japanese migration to America, let us now turn to the Issei generation, and the unique story of these early Japanese American sojourners.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ISSEI GENERATION

As mentioned in the previous chapter, most of the early Japanese immigrants were from the rural areas, and most of them had farming and agricultural backgrounds. They were not scholars or aristocrats, but rather they were people who were used to manual labor. For this reason they were able to survive in the most menial of jobs. It appears that these early Issei took on the most diversified of jobs, and shifted fairly frequently from one occupation to another. As Kitano writes:

Those Japanese who came to the United States mainland toward the end of the nineteenth century found employment as laborers on the railroads, in the canneries, in logging, and in the mining, meatpacking, and salt industries. They were desirable workers because they were industrious, willing to work for low wages, and uncomplaining about working conditions--factors that earned them as much unpopularity with unions and employee groups as popularity with employers.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it can be seen that these early Japanese immigrants were on the lowest economic scale of the society. Being the newest immigrant group they would work under more terrible conditions and

---

<sup>1</sup>Harry Kitano. Japanese Americans (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969) p. 15.

for less money than other immigrant groups that had been in the country longer. This was especially the case in their competition for jobs with the Chinese who had been on American soil a few decades earlier. As Daniels puts it:

The earliest Japanese labor gangs were in direct competition with the remaining Chinese, and had to resort to wage cutting to get employment. In 1894, in Santa Clara county, Japanese were working for 50 cents a day and boarding themselves. The normal scale for Chinese had long been established at a dollar a day. Similarly, in 1896, Japanese reduced the sugar beet harvest price from \$1.20 to 70 cents per ton.<sup>2</sup>

However, the early Japanese immigrant did not intend to stay on the lowest rung of the economy. These Issei sojourners fully intended to make it financially in America. They did not travel half-way across the world to stay in poverty. Harry Kitano cites an editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle in 1910 that proves this very point:

Had the Japanese laborer throttled his ambition to progress along the lines of American citizenship and industrial development, he probably would have attracted small attention of the public mind. Japanese ambition is to progress beyond mere servility to the plane of the better class of American workman and to own a home with him. The moment that this position is exercised, the Japanese ceases to be an ideal laborer.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Roger Daniels. The Politics of Prejudice (New York: Atheneum, 1973), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Kitano, p. 16.

These early Issei were highly ambitious and upwardly mobile individuals. They were willing to work hard to make it, but they expected their labor to pay off in later dividends. They never once intended to stay in the lower economic bracket.

The means of getting out of the lowest economic position was of course the key, and the Issei proved more than sagacious in this area. With the Chinese Exclusion Acts in effect there was a dwindling number of competitive workers, and this fact was used by the Issei to their advantage. After 1903, Japanese agricultural strikes became more frequently used as a tactic.<sup>4</sup> The growers were caught in a bind when the Issei threatened not to pick ripened fruit unless they received more money. Being one of the main sources of labor, the growers had to meet certain demands or they would lose their entire crop. Daniels gives a unique picture of this situation:

A standard device was to wait until the fruit was ripe on the trees and then insist upon renegotiating the contract. The growers protested that this was unethical, since a contract was a contract, and remembered that the Chinese, to their credit, had never done such things. But, as there were no longer enough Chinese to go around, in many instances the Japanese demands had to be met. From about this date, 1903, we begin to hear individual comparisons of the two races from agriculturalists, almost always to the detriment of the Japanese. One

---

<sup>4</sup>Daniels, p. 9.

grower even complained about the "saucy, debonair Jap, who would like to do all his work in a white starched shirt with cuffs and white collar accompaniments." That is, of course, hyperbole, but can be taken as a symptom of something quite tangible; the intense desire of many Issei to move up the social and economic ladder. From 1910 on, despite the prewar slump, the earnings of Japanese in agriculture were generally equal to, and sometimes above, those of other groups. This latter condition was particularly true when piece-work rates were in force.<sup>5</sup>

With this intense desire to succeed, these early Issei climbed the economic ladder step by step. In the agricultural area a typical schememight be to start at the bottom as a contract laborer. The next step would be to move to sharecropping. From there the next step might be to lease or rent land, and finally it would culminate with the actual buying of the land.

Those Issei who went to the cities, clustered themselves in the phenomenon known as the minority ghettos. "Little Tokyo," or "Jap Town" became the natural label for these crowded Japanese ghettos. Most of the Issei who came to the cities became either domestics or small business owners. Whether they worked as houseboys, gardeners, or the owners of their own shops, the intense ambition to make it financially did not subside. Of course, it was not an easy climb up the economic ladder. The Issei poured

---

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



their sweat and blood out in the making of this climb, and their achievement brought on the almost inevitable reaction of racism.

In the early 1900's there was already blatant racist publicity against the Japanese, and this reflected the anti-Japanese feeling on the Pacific Coast. Actually, the stage was set for anti-Japanese feeling by the wave of racism against the Chinese which started in the second half of the 19th century. When the racist segment of the California society had successfully coped with the Chinese problem (through anti-Chinese legislation and immigration restrictions), the lingering flames of racism were simply rekindled against the Japanese. The press, as always, was able to stir up public feelings almost at will. In 1905, the San Francisco Chronicle began its racist attack on the new Japanese immigrants. The title of one of its first articles against the Japanese read: "THE JAPANESE INVASION, THE PROBLEM OF THE HOUR." The article preceded to warn that at least 100,000 of the "Little Brown Men" were in America, and that they were "no more assimilable than the Chinese." The article then went on to warn that hordes of Japanese immigrants would soon flood the country, and concluded that the "class of immigrants is likely to become worse."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

From that article on, a series of equally damaging reports were run in the Chronicle. An example of some of the more menacing headlines reads:

CRIME AND POVERTY GO HAND IN HAND WITH  
ASIATIC LABOR

HOW JAPANESE IMMIGRATION COMPANIES OVER-  
RIDE LAWS

BROWN MEN ARE MADE CITIZENS ILLEGALLY

JAPANESE A MENACE TO AMERICAN WOMEN

BROWN MEN AN EVIL IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ADULT JAPANESE CROWN OUT CHILDREN

THE YELLOW PERIL--HOW JAPANESE CROWD  
OUT THE WHITE RACE

BROWN PERIL ASSUMES NATIONAL PROPORTIONS

BROWN ARTISANS STEAL BRAINS OF WHITES<sup>7</sup>

With the press leading the charge, the wave of anti-Japanese feeling had begun.

In much of America's past, whenever public opinion against a particular minority group has been aroused, legislation against that minority group is soon to follow. In the case of Japanese Americans this has been especially true. In the early 1900's two of the most blatant cases of anti-Japanese legislation

---

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

were the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907/1908, and the Alien Land Law of 1913. There were of course, other instances of anti-Japanese legislation, but these were two of the most famous ones. It seems appropriate to deal with these in depth because they reflect anti-Japanese legislation against two distinct segments of the Japanese community. The Gentlemen's Agreement was directed predominately at those Japanese who lived in the urban city, and the Alien Land Law was directed at those Japanese of the rural farm areas.

The prelude to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907/1908 was the School Board Crisis of 1906. Although there were many factors that led up to these two events, of major consideration was the growing military power of Japan. In 1895 China was utterly defeated by Japan in a short war. This victory was a great tribute to Japan, given the fact that the Meiji restoration had begun only a scant twenty-eight years previous. Then, in a completely surprising victory, Japan destroyed the Russian fleet, and emerged victorious in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. With this victory Japan became a first class military power in the world. The United States, a bona fide military power in its own right, gave Japan a hard look as a result of these victories. The possibility of war between the United States and Japan crossed the minds of leaders from both countries. Good diplomatic relations became

necessary if peace was to be maintained. But the vast majority of people in California did not care much for diplomatic relations. The California press had been feeding coals to the anti-Japanese fire for months now, and the public sentiment was thoroughly anti-Japanese. In 1905, there was a growing concern over Japanese students in public schools. The press again used the "Mongol Hordes" device in implanting the fear that waves of Japanese immigrants would soon invade the public schools. The press also used the twisted racist idea that older Japanese male pupils were prone to molest young white children. As social demography Professor William Petersen writes:

The most unpleasant propaganda centered on the disparity in ages and the opportunity that grown Japanese males were supposedly given to molest children. Japanese males from advanced classes had been brought into kindergarten rooms, where they were photographed seated beside white children, and the school board had used these pictures to reinforce its case.<sup>8</sup>

In the past, one of the strongest arms of racism is to bring in the factor of possible sexual abuse. Racism has always become especially potent when the sexual purity of the majority has been threatened. The white man has idolized the white woman as the demi-goddess of purity, and racism has reached its peak

---

<sup>8</sup>William Petersen. Japanese Americans (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 41.

when this purity has been threatened by minority groups. In this case, the sexual abuse of white young girls by a filthy minority group was almost unthinkable. Yet, there was absolutely no evidence for the possibility of this ever taking place. Again quoting Peterson:

But according to Metcalf's (U.S. Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and the man President Roosevelt sent to investigate the crisis) figures, the ages of the Japanese pupils ranged with an almost equal distribution from 7 to 20 years. More than a quarter of the total were girls, and no boy of any age sat in the same seat with a white girl. No oral or written protest was ever made against a specific Japanese pupil (as contrasted with the vague category of "Mongolians"), and no one was ever under the slightest suspicion of immoral disorderly conduct.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, there were not enough Japanese to make a difference numerically anyway. The so called "crisis" was over only 93 Japanese children who attended twenty-three public schools scattered throughout San Francisco. Sixty-eight of these children were born in Japan (Issei), and twenty-five of them were native American citizens (Nisei).<sup>10</sup>

The crisis reached a head when on October 11, 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education officially resolved to segregate

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>10</sup>Frank Chuman. The Bamboo People (Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976), p. 20.

the Japanese children from the white pupils. From this point on these ninety-eight Japanese children could not attend the white public schools, and had to travel great distances to specially segregated schools set up for the Chinese and other minorities.

Very soon afterwards, the Japanese government sent an official protest to the United States condemning this action. At first, President Roosevelt was caught off guard from the Japanese protest of the San Francisco incident. However, as was mentioned previously, Japan was a military power, and Roosevelt had to treat the situation with some tact. He could not quietly dismiss the incident, but had to take an active interest in the entire affair. Roosevelt sent his Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Victor Metcalf (a Native Californian) to investigate the incident. Metcalf tried unsuccessfully to resolve the situation, and Roosevelt was forced to take an even more active role in the situation.

In reality, the actual barring of the ninety-three Japanese students from the public schools was not the central issue. The real issue revolved around the immigration of Japanese to the United States--something that the local government of San Francisco wanted stopped at all costs. The School Board issue was merely a symptom of this deeper underlying desire of the local San Francisco government. The question here arises of why was the local government so concerned over stopping the flow of

Japanese immigration. A logical answer comes when one realizes that the labor party was virtually "the" government of San Francisco, and it was the labor party that most strongly opposed the immigration of Japanese to the United States.<sup>11</sup>

Roosevelt knew that the solution laid in the restricting of Japanese laborers to America. Now, many historians differ as to what Roosevelt really felt about the Japanese. Some portray him as not effected by the racist attitudes toward the Japanese, but Roger Daniels seems to have the most penetrating grasp into his real feelings:

What were Roosevelt's real views on Japan and the Japanese? It seems clear--if anything about the first Roosevelt is clear--that despite his frequent protests to the contrary he was, along with the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries, a convinced racist. He was, however, willing to treat certain individuals of any race as equals. Although he had been pro-Japanese from the outset of the war, he was stunned by the completeness of Admiral Togo's victory in Tsushima Strait (over the Russian fleet). He had rather hoped that the two powers "will fight until both are fairly well exhausted and that then peace will come on terms which will not mean the creation of either a yellow peril or a Slav peril." He could blurt out to Spring Rice that "the Japs interest me and I like them," but not far beneath the surface there was always a deep seated distrust of the Orient, the one part of the globe Roosevelt never visited. Despite the fact that Japan's "diplomatic statements had been made good,"

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

he reminded his ambassador to Russia that "Japan is an Oriental nation, and the individual standard of truthfulness in Japan is low." He had "No doubt" that the Japanese people disliked "all white men" and believed "their own yellow civilization to be better."<sup>12</sup>

Even though it appears that Roosevelt was a racist, he still respected power, and in this case the Japanese did have military power. Thus, he had to deal with the Japanese government with a great deal of diplomatic tact.

Roosevelt's solution to the problem to the San Francisco incident came in the form of the Gentlemen's Agreement, an "executive agreement" between two countries that was precipitated by the School Board Crisis of 1906.<sup>13</sup> Through a series of negotiations, San Francisco rescinded its resolution to prohibit Japanese children from public schools. In return, the Japanese agreed not to issue passports good for the continental United States to laborers, skilled or unskilled, but passports could be issued to "laborers who have already been in America and to the parents, wives, and children of laborers already there."<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Daniels, p. 46.

<sup>13</sup>Chuman, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup>Daniels, p. 44.



Through this agreement the Japanese government got what it wanted, and so did the local government of San Francisco. Both countries were happy and both countries stood by the agreement. The statistics reveal the effect: in 1907, 12,888 Japanese immigrants entered the United States; in 1908, the number was reduced to 8,340, and in 1909 it fell to 1,596.<sup>15</sup>

It was through the reading of these statistics that the U.S. federal government thought the problem was resolved, but the anti-Japanese feeling in California did not subside because more and more Japanese seemed to be popping up. What the government did not count on was the loophole that allowed wives of Japanese laborers to be issued passports. As mentioned before, one of the predominant characteristics of these first immigrants was that they were young males. When it became clear to these men that they were going to stay in America, they sent word to Japan that they wished brides to be sent to them. It should be reminded that inter-marriage with whites was completely closed to them. Not only were the social taboos so high against inter-racial marriage, it was legally forbidden in the state of California. So Issei men had to turn to Japan if they wished female companionship.

---

<sup>15</sup>Chuman, p. 36.

When the Issei living in America sent word back home that they wished to find a marriage partner, the family would begin immediately to arrange things. Marriage by family arrangement was very common in Japan. A potential bride would be arranged for in Japan, and the couple would be married by proxy. This is known as the "picture Bride" phenomenon, in which pictures of Japanese men in America would be exchanged with prospective brides in Japan. A humorous side to the "picture bride" phenomenon was expressed by this author's father. He tells of some Issei men taking their picture in front of a large bank or other impressive piece of property. The prospective bride's family would assume that the man owned the property, and naturally, the Issei males would not give information that said they did not. Unfortunately, when the bride arrived in the States she would find out that her new husband did not own much property, and in point of fact was a rather poor farmer or laborer! There was also some deception coming from Japan. A picture can be deceiving, and many Issei men received pictures of beautiful women that wished marriage. However, arriving in America, some Issei men found that their new wives were anything but beautiful. Not so funny is the fact that some women were left right at the train stations by Issei men who felt cheated.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Statement by Moses Hagiya in a personal interview, Santa Clara, CA, June, 1969.

Still, any jilted woman (no matter how ugly) had good chances of finding a husband once she arrived in America. The reasons were clear enough: there were simply not enough Japanese women to go around. An example can be shown statistically in the male-female breakdown of immigrants from Japan:

TABLE 3

Male-Female Breakdown of Immigrants<sup>17</sup>  
to the United States from Japan

Year	Total	Male	Female
1900	12,635	12,265	370
1901	5,269	4,902	367
1902	14,270	10,414	3,856
1903	20,041	15,990	4,051
1904	14,382	12,729	1,653
1905	11,021	9,810	1,211
1906	14,243	12,756	1,487
1907	30,824	27,845	4,162
Totals	139,103	118,967	20,136

---

<sup>17</sup>Bill Hosokawa. Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: Morrow, 1969), p. 96.

As one can see from the statistical nine year total, men outnumbered women by about six to one. Later statistical evidence is just as conclusive: in 1920, of the adult males, 42.5 percent were single.<sup>18</sup>

It is terribly ironic that the Gentlemen's Agreement was primarily designed to keep the Japanese population from growing in the West Coast, but in actual fact the Japanese population was increasing in greater numbers. The coming of the Japanese brides for the Issei men already here meant more and more native born Japanese Americans. The Gentlemen's Agreement was foiled by a technicality, and its attempt to stop the Japanese population proved futile. The first generation of Issei were marrying, and the second generation of Nisei were being born in the natural order of life events.

It appears that the only ones satisfied by the Gentlemen's Agreement were the respective national government leaders of Japan and the United States. Seeing that the Agreement was not working in stemming the population of Japanese, the anti-Japanese feeling continued rather strongly among the people of the Pacific Coast. This anti-Japanese sentiment not only expressed itself in individual

---

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

racist attacks, but in the more powerful domain of political legislation. A major factor in the inability of Japanese to defend themselves against this racism was the fact that they were political non-entities. In a few major court cases, Japanese were denied their citizenship on racial grounds. They were declared with a polite euphemism, "aliens ineligible to citizenship."<sup>19</sup> Although a few Issei managed to acquire temporary citizenship from lower courts, it was not fully recognized by other branches of government, and later the citizenship would be cancelled by other courts.

Chuman cites the evidence of these specific cases:

Between 1908 and 1925, six cases were reported in both the state and federal courts, including the United States Supreme Court, that involved issues of the eligibility of Japanese aliens for naturalization.

Four of these cases involved Japanese aliens who had rendered military service to the United States and had been honorably discharged from the armed forces. Two of these men were denied naturalization out of hand. The other two were at one time granted citizenship through naturalization and subsequently had their citizenship certificates cancelled. The fifth case involved a Japanese alien who applied for and was granted citizenship through naturalization: he also had his certificate of citizenship subsequently cancelled by another court.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>20</sup>Chuman., p. 67.

Without recognized citizenship the Issei had no rights, and this lack of citizenship would be used against them in further legislation. A good example of this fact is evident in the Alien Land Law of 1913. This law was designed to prohibit Japanese from owning their own land. In point of fact, the California legislature attempted to prohibit aliens from owning their own land as far back as 1889. From that date onward, the California legislature attempted to pass bills that would limit Japanese and Chinese from owning real property. In the 1913 session of the California State Legislature there were more than thirty anti-Japanese measures introduced.<sup>21</sup>

The bill that became law, and had the most dramatic impact on the Japanese was the Haney-Webb Alien Land Law. It was a thoroughly racist law since it prohibited Japanese from owning their own land simply because they were ineligible for citizenship, yet it granted this right to other aliens, even including nontreaty aliens.<sup>22</sup>

To quote Frank Chuman on the effects of the Alien Land Law:

---

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

The Alien Land Law of 1913 was the first legislation to deprive the Japanese of any substantial property rights. It applied the standards of "eligibility to citizenship" as used by Congress to the entirely different and unrelated area of land ownership. It excluded Japanese from land ownership solely on the basis that they were ineligible for citizenship.<sup>23</sup>

The passing of the Alien Land Law appeared to be a smashing victory for those racist on the Pacific Coast. In one sense, (and in one sense only!) it was good for the Japanese in that it quieted the infectious anti-Japanese feeling somewhat. Some Californians felt that the Japanese problem was being taken care of, and for these people the racist fever dissipated. As Daniels says:

Most Californians seemed to believe, as their governor professed, to, that they had "laid the ghost of the Japanese question." For a few years it seemed, superficially, that they had. From 1913 until 1919 there was no widespread anti-Japanese agitation.<sup>24</sup>

To add yet another benevolent irony to the situation was the fact that the law itself proved ineffective in many ways. Those Issei who owned their own land merely transferred the title to the name of their children (who were native born citizens of the United States). As Petersen writes:

---

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>24</sup>Daniels., p. 64.



. . . some Issei were able to circumvent its provisions (the Alien Land Law) by purchasing land in the name of their native born offspring, and others paid white citizens to buy land and hold it for their children. During World War I, when many farm workers left agriculture for better paying factory jobs, Japanese were eagerly sought as agricultural tenants, and they made their most notable advances in California agriculture in the years immediately following.<sup>25</sup>

As one can see from the following account, the racial prejudice was no less severe against the Japanese than other minority groups in America. It is also clear (especially in the two cases of anti-Japanese legislation cited) that the Issei were able to adapt, to adjust, to survive. It was through this endurance and ability to survive that enabled succeeding generations to prosper on these shores. But the 1920's did not see the end of white racism directed toward the Japanese. It would blossom even stronger in the next three decades. The struggle to survive had just begun. . . .

---

<sup>25</sup>Petersen., p. 52.

## CHAPTER 5

### TRADITIONAL VALUES OF THE ISSEI

From the historical groundwork laid earlier, one can see that the Issei generation met a violent storm of racism when they first arrived on these shores. It is a great tribute to the Issei that they were able to overcome the many obstacles presented to them as immigrants. Not only fighting extreme racism, but language and cultural barriers, they forged their way, determined to make a good life here in America. Although one can speak of a general identity that the Issei possessed, readers should be cautioned that no two Issei had exactly the same history and experiences. This chapter of the paper will speak in generalities, but one should always be remindful of individual exceptions and differences.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the average Issei immigrant was a highly competitive and ambitious individual. These early Issei were not afraid of work, and they were determined to move up the economic bracket. Originally, many of them did not intend to stay in America, They wished to work hard, make some money, and then return to a better life in Japan. Their primary reference group was Japanese in Japan. As Sociologist Minako Maykovich writes:

Initially, most of the Issei planned to go back to Japan after accumulating enough wealth in the new land of opportunity. Their reference group was predominately relatives left behind in Japan. When they were young, the Issei had been taught the importance of the family name and of Japan as a nation. Issei were driven to work hard to bring honor to his family and to his country, from which he had received limitless on. His identity was first and foremost as a Japanese, although he was living in the United States. His audience reference group was the Japanese left at home, and his identity arose from his social role in the Japanese structure.<sup>1</sup>

The dreams of making a great deal of money, and then returning to Japan were not fulfilled by many. Some Issei, disillusioned, did return to Japan. Many other Issei stayed. Afterall, economic condition in Japan were for the most part worse than those in America. Even though the anti-Japanese feeling was strong in America, these early Issei were slowly climbing the economic ladder. Things in America were rough, but they had come a long way from when they first arrived. As Daniels comments:

The homes were generally modest, especially in the earlier years, but most Issei were not economically disadvantaged. Matsui concluded, in 1922, that "in general . . . the standard of living of the Japanese is still a little lower than the well established American, although it is not inferior to that of other recent immigrants." In general by

---

<sup>1</sup>Minako Maykovich. Japanese American Identity Dilemma (Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 1972), p. 42.

the 1920's the Issei were what in modern parlance might be called "lower-middle-class . . . "2

The question naturally arises of how the Issei coped with the different cultures of Japan and America. Here, the idea of a "marginal person" (e.g., someone caught between two different worlds of culture, society, etc.), might be useful. The term itself has been refined by many sociologists. Park, Stonequist, and others have pioneered this sociological concept. A rather general definition is provided by Stonequist:

(A marginal person is) poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds, reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions, of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant over the other."3

The formation of this sociological concept has provided a good means of analyzing immigrant groups in America. Minako Maykovich uses the marginality scheme in relation to all three generations of Japanese in America. As she assesses the Issei and marginality:

Since the Issei were not committed to American society nor were admitted into it as American citizens, the concept of marginality does not apply to them. Physically they were in

---

<sup>2</sup>Rogers Daniels. The Politics of Prejudice (New York: Atheneum, 1973), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Maykovich., p. 12.

American society, but as shown above, their social and psychological identification was with Japan. In this respect, Goldberg has stated, the norms and behavior patterns which the Issei had absorbed and made a part of themselves over a long period of years were inadequate to meet the new situation and to develop new definitions. The Issei retained their old perspective and did not develop a new value system which would combine Japanese and American elements.<sup>4</sup>

So, one can conclude that the majority of Issei did not have a great conflict with marginality. Few of them were uncertain about their identity of being caught between two different worlds. They were first and foremost Japanese. They retained the old ways and ideas. There was no radical change in their cultural patterns. They had a nationalistic pride in being Japanese, and they did not feel inferior to the rest of society. For the most part, psychologically they knew who they were. Undoubtedly, they used this psychological base as a way to cope with the racist attitudes that they faced. Although this author never met his Grandfather, he was apparently a prototype of this confidence. This author has heard many family stories of him being loud and aggressive. It seems that he would never back down from a challenge, and in his middle age, even raced his own son who had the "gall" to think that he could beat him in a footrace!<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>5</sup>Statement by Moses Hagiya in a personal interview, San Jose, CA, April, 1968.

It appears that for the most part, American values did not make a totally dramatic impact on these early Issei. They retained the values that were deeply ingrained in them from Japan. In certain cases, some of these Japanese values have even been retained by third and fourth generation Japanese Americans.

In speaking of these traditional values, certainly one of the strongest is the Bushido spirit of the Samurai. In the Tokugawa period, the samurai was the highest class of the society, and their value system penetrated to all levels of the nation. The samurai was a warrior, and he was dominated by the concept of honor. Being a warrior he was prone to lead a rigidly disciplined and restrained lifestyle. A great deal of emotion would lead to disaster for a warrior, so self control was stressed as a technique to suppress emotion and desire. As Maykovich puts it:

On or off the battlefield, the samurai was expected to control his own feelings because devotion to the Lord and to warfare came before his personal feelings. Showing one's feelings was considered weakness. Buddhism furnished a sense of calm trust in fate, a quiet submission to the inevitable, a stoic composure in the face of danger and hardship.<sup>6</sup>

The early Issei immigrants had many of these same qualities. Most of them did not complain, but quietly went about their business.

---

<sup>6</sup>Maykovich., p. 30.

The traditional value of not outwardly displaying emotion has in part led to the great stereotype of Japanese Americans in this country--quiet, reserved, not willing to rock the boat under any circumstances.

But the early Issei inherited more than just control of emotion from their traditional heritage. As Stanford Lyman points out:

The patterns of hierarchical society, rigid formalism, etiquette and shame were routinized features of the early life of the Issei, who grew up in a time of great technological and political--but little ethical or interpersonal--change in Japan. The modernization of Japan, actually began in the Tokugawa period, was achieved not by overturning the old cultural order but rather by adapting western industrial, educational and military forms to the framework of that order. "Within this general context," writes Reinhard Bendix, "the samurai were transformed from an estate of independent landed, and self-equipped warriors into one of urbanized, aristocratic retainers, whose privileged social and economic position was universally acknowledged. They remained attached to their tradition of ceremonious conduct, intense pride of rank and the cultivation of physical prowess." The education system fostered not only study of classics and later, the more technical subjects, but also and more importantly, directed its major attention to the development of virtue, humble modesty before superiors, self-control and etiquette. Thus, the Issei bore the cultural marks which had been part of the Japanese tradition for at least two centuries.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Stanford Lyman. "Generation and Character: the case of the Japanese Americans," in Amy Tachibi, Eddie Wong, and Franklin Odo (eds.) Roots: An Asian American Reader, (Los Angeles: Continental Graphics, 1971), p. 56.

To specifically examine one of these traits, we shall turn to Kitano, who had identified one as the "enryo syndrome." As we shall see, this trait has been handed down from succeeding generations, so that even young third generation children demonstrate it. Kitano supplies his own definition of "enryo:"

The concept originally referred to the manner in which "inferiors" were supposed to behave with "superiors"--that is, through deference and obsequiousness. As with many norms, however, the meaning and the use eventually expanded to cover a variety of situations--from how to behave toward the white man, to what to do in ambiguous situations, to how to cover moments of confusion, embarrassment and anxiety.<sup>8</sup>

As a third generation Sansei, this author strongly demonstrates many of the characteristics of this word. An example comes from my own hesitancy to impose upon other people. I often suppress my own feelings by thinking that I might be imposing upon someone. A specific example comes when I turn down food that I would really like when it is offered to me. The point is that I would really like to eat the food, but I don't want to impose on those doing the offering. Enryo is not something that is understood by western minds. Occidental people simply cannot conceive of

---

<sup>8</sup>Harry Kitano. Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 104.



why people would demonstrate the kind of behavior that was just described.

Yet, enryo helps to explain a great deal of Japanese behavior. As Kitano writes:

As with other norms, it had both negative and positive effect on Japanese acculturation. For example, take observations of Japanese in situations as diverse as their hesitancy to speak out at meetings; their refusal of any invitation, especially the first time; their refusal of a second helping; their acceptance of a less desired object when given a free choice; their lack of verbal participation, especially in an integrated group; their refusal to ask questions; and their hesitancy in asking for a raise in salary--these may all be based on enryo. The inscrutable face, the noncommittal answer, the behavioral reserve can often be traced to this norm so that the stereotype of the shy, reserved Japanese in ambiguous social situations is often an accurate one.<sup>9</sup>

Again, as a third generation Sansei, this author can identify with many of the behaviors in Kitano's description. It also seems evident that since I feel very strongly about these things, my own offspring will be greatly influenced by my cultural attitudes and behaviors.

Hopefully, from this short discussion, one can see that traditional values were highly ingrained in the Issei, and some of these stronger values were transmitted to second, third, and even fourth generation Japanese Americans.

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE ISSEI AND THE JAPANESE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

The first Christian organizations that Japanese in America were exposed to were in the form of Christian missions. It appears that most Issei immigrants to this country were nominally religious, or had some Buddhist background. Kitano points out that there was a tendency for religious tolerance in Japan during the time the Issei immigrated, and this led to a flexible approach to religion as far as the Issei immigrants were concerned.<sup>1</sup>

The Reverend Casper Horikoshi divides up the history of the Japanese American Church in roughly the same time periods as he sees the history of the Japanese American people. These time periods are: 1) The Pioneer Days, 1860-1900; 2) The Age of Persecution and War, 1900-1942; and 3) Resettlement and Reconstruction 1942-1977.<sup>2</sup>

Although the time periods are much too general for a comprehensive discussion of the history of the Japanese American

---

<sup>1</sup>Harry Kitano. Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 85.

<sup>2</sup>Casper Horikoshi. "A History of the Japanese Christian Mission and Its Meaning," in Sumito Koga (ed.) A Centennial Legacy (Chicago: Nobart, 1977), p. 36.

people, the chronological breakdown will suffice for our discussion of the Japanese American Christian Church.

The very first date of importance for the Japanese Christian Church in America during the Pioneering period is 1874. On this date, three young Japanese students, Nishimaki, Koyano, and Ninomiya accidentally met at an American Congregational Church in San Francisco.<sup>3</sup> These three young men formed the nucleus of a small group of Japanese people who met regularly for bible study and English language lessons at the Church.

The continuation of their story is further expanded in a totally independent event that occurred in 1877. In that year, Kanichi Miyama was baptised by Rev. Otis Gibson (a former missionary to China), and thus became the first Christian convert among the Japanese immigrants.

Hosokawa points out that Kanichi Miyama and two other Japanese immigrants happened to hear Rev., Dr. Thomas Guard preach at the Howard Street Church in San Francisco. Their interest was further cultivated when Dr. Guard (not knowing what to do with them) referred them to the Chinese mission in San Francisco.<sup>4</sup> It was here that Rev. Gibson was serving as a

---

<sup>3</sup>Koga., p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Bill Hosokawa. Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: Morrow, 1969), p. 126.

Superintendent, and henceforth where the baptism took place.

It was in this same year that Kanichi Miyama got together with Nishimaki, Koyano, and Ninomiya to form the very first body of Japanese Christians called the Fukui Kai (Gospel Fellowship Circle). It was reported that the group numbered thirty-five, and Koyano was chosen as their first chairperson.<sup>5</sup>

In 1881 the Fellowship split up, and the Congregational group went on their own to form the "Tyler Gospel Society." The nucleus of this group petitioned to the Presbytery of San Francisco to form a Japanese Church. The Presbytery consented to this petition, and in May of 1885, the first Japanese Church of San Francisco was organized. This church is still in existence, and is currently known as the Christ United Presbyterian Church.<sup>6</sup>

Philip Kyung Sik Park cites that a Dr. E.A. Sturge (a former missionary in Thailand) was the spearhead behind this first Presbyterian Mission. It seems that Dr. Sturge encouraged two young Japanese to enter the ministry, and Kenichi Inazawa and Makato Kobayashi became instrumental in further establishing

---

<sup>5</sup>Koga., p. 10.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Japanese Churches. Park relates that Inazawa founded a church in Salinas in 1898, in Watsonville in 1902, in Wintersburg in 1904, and in Los Angeles in 1905. Kobayashi was no less active founding churches in Stockton, Salt Lake City, and Long Beach.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, the original Gospel Fellowship Circle continued to grow under the leadership of Kanichi Miyama, its new leader. With the help of Dr. M.C. Harris, the Fellowship asked for mission status in 1886, and it was granted. A direct outcome of this was the establishment of the Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church in San Francisco.<sup>8</sup>

From these humble beginnings, other small Japanese American Churches began to spring up. For specific examples, please refer to the complete Chronological listing of Japanese American Church movements in Appendix A.

It seems a common pattern in establishing these early Japanese Christian Churches was that young Japanese immigrants would become motivated by white Christian leaders, and they in

---

<sup>7</sup>Philip Kyung Sik Park. "Asian Christians and the Bicentennial" (paper written for the Associate for Asian Church Development; The Program Agency; The United Presbyterian Church in the USA), p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Koga., p. 10.

turn would provide the indigenous leadership in establishing Japanese Christian congregations. Thus, the Japanese Christian Churches in America owe a great debt to these pioneering Issei leaders.

Another interesting observation is that many of these early Japanese American Christian Churches started out with a functional rather than strictly religious purpose. Many of these early Christian Churches started out as night schools to teach English to Japanese immigrants.<sup>9</sup>

The churches were also logical meeting grounds for young Japanese to come together for social purposes. Other Japanese congregations were formed from the result of a social issue. For example, in the forming of the Church in Oxnard, Hosokawa reports that ill feeling was created as the result of Japanese farm laborers striking and winning a wage increase. Thus, to head off a potentially volatile situation, a militant labor leader by the name of Kusaburo Baba sought the help of the Christian Church. From this initial exposure to the Church, a Japanese English class with Christian instruction was created. A year later a Christian Church was organized from this English class.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Hosokawa., pp. 127-128.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

Of course, these early Japanese Christians were segregated from the denominationally affiliated white churches. For language and cultural reasons, as well as the anti-Japanese feeling that was present, this is a logical conclusion.

The second period that Rev. Horikoshi outlines, "The Age of Persecution and War (1900-1942)" is actually a misnomer. Persecution started before 1900, and lasted later than 1942. For organizational purposes, this period and others will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

As time passed the Japanese Christian Churches grew considerably. Petersen comments:

In the early 1930's the thirty such Japanese churches in California, affiliated with most of the important Protestant denominations, had a total membership of slightly more than 2,000 and a total attendance at Sunday schools of almost 4,500.<sup>11</sup>

It is clear that once these Japanese Christian Churches became established their numbers grew greatly. Again, there is a logical explanation for this. As mentioned before, the Japanese Christian church provided not only spiritual elements, but practical and functional elements as well. As Harry Kitano puts it:

Japanese immigrants in the United States provided a fruitful missionary field. Their adoption

---

<sup>11</sup>William Petersen. Japanese Americans (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 179.

of the Christian faith was strongly reinforced by practical considerations, because Christian churches had much to offer the new immigrant in the way of employment and Americanization. Many found employment through their church, particularly as house boys. In fact, this was so common that at one time the Japanese house boy was referred to as a "mission boy." The churches also provided an opportunity to learn to speak and behave like Americans, and had therefore an important acculturative function. Several other factors contributed to the development of Christianity among the Japanese. The social welfare functions of the church were congruent with Issei experience, and church attitudes of benevolence and helpfulness toward others were sympathetically received. Where the new immigrant was without a family, the church served in a family role, supplying the feeling of group participation which the family had provided in Japan. Christianity was also less complicated and expensive than Buddhism when it came to such practical matters as weddings or funerals. Churches often provided mission schools, preschools, and kindergartens. The Christian concepts of ethical and moral training were congruent with those of Buddhism, and, finally, the churches played a strong part in defending the Japanese from legislative and political attacks.<sup>12</sup>

In conclusion, the Christian Church played an important role in the Issei experience as first generation immigrants. However, the church has played different roles for succeeding generations. The differences of the Nisei will now be examined as we turn to the second generation of Japanese Americans.

---

<sup>12</sup>Kitano., p. 86.



## CHAPTER 7

### THE NISEI

The common stereotype of the second generation of Nisei has been that of the "Quiet Americans--the Success story of the model minority." Japanese Americans have been used as the prototype of all other minority groups that are struggling in America. The story goes that through hard work and determination the Japanese Americans have "made it" in this land of opportunity.

Without a doubt, Japanese Americans have achieved a great deal of success in the United States. It is also true that they have worked hard and suffered greatly to achieve this success. But to use them as the model of all minority groups is to engage in nonsensical futility. The Japanese Americans have a distinct history and set of cultural traditions that are all their own. No other minority group could have evolved like the Japanese Americans, because no other minority group went through the unique history nor had the cultural roots that they had. All other minority groups in this country have had their own unique histories and cultural backgrounds. Japanese Americans could not exactly follow the path of another minority group in this country, just as other minority groups

cannot follow the history that Japanese Americans have gone through. There is no way another minority group can model itself after Japanese Americans to attain success. The "model minority" theme must be rejected by anyone who is reflective enough to see these points.

But what are the historical roots that have led up to the success attained by the second generation of Japanese Americans? At this point, the paper will discuss some of these historical factors.

As was shown in the previous sections, the early Issei immigrants met with a great deal of anti-Japanese sentiment. This anti-Japanese racism was perpetuated and heightened by the media, and put into practice by legislative measures. But in spite of this intense racism, the Issei were able to gain a foothold in this country. They were able to survive the racist claws, and even more, they were able to slowly prosper in a hostile land. Across the Pacific, the 1930's lay witness to a dramatic rise in power for the tiny nation of Japan. In less than half a century, Japan moved from a feudal agricultural society to a modern industrial power in the world. The world was shocked by the outcome of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. In America the complete victory by the Japanese aroused a growing fear of the military power of Japan. In the 1930's this fear was even more heightened when the

Japanese invaded China, and later went to war against a nation Japan was sure to beat. The lines were being drawn more clearly between the power of Japan and the United States. The U.S. was extremely uncomfortable at the territorial gains the Japanese were making. By 1939 the Japanese forces had reached the interior of central China. When the Japanese occupied the island of Hainan they were less than 700 miles away from the U.S. controlled Philippine Islands.<sup>1</sup>

This display of military gain further affected the negative image that Americans had of Japanese. The fear of Japan provided a fertile seedbed of racist sentiment directed toward the Japanese living in America. Still, the Japanese living in America were able to survive this public sentiment. William Petersen attributes most of this to the Japanese sense of organization. As he writes about the Japanese farmers:

That in spite of all obstacles these small farmers could compete successfully against the large corporations that were starting to dominate California agriculture was due to their organization. "The Japanese," according to a standard sociological source of the 1920's, are the most efficiently and completely organized among the immigrant groups." Some of these organizations can be classified as social or

---

<sup>1</sup>Jennifer Cross. Justice Denied (New York: Firebird, 1972), p. 52.

religious or economic or political, but most were multi-functional. Since in all of them the Japanese were cut off from other Americans, even those established to assist in acculturation to some degree reinforced their differentiation from the white population.<sup>2</sup>

It should be clear that a major factor in enabling the Issei to survive the anti-Japanese racism was this sense of organization, and the community spirit with which they banded together. But whereas the Issei and Nisei were able to weather the racist storm that the early 20th century brought on, they were not able to cope with the racist fever that World War II brought on. No community spirit or organization could save them from the complete fear that most Californians had in the 1940's.

The antagonism between Japan and the United States grew steadily from 1930 on. The United States denounced Japan's war with China, and was not afraid to tell Japan directly. In the summer of 1940, the United States protested against Japan through economic means. In July of that year, congress passed acts that stopped the exportation of war materials to Japan. A few weeks later the United States stopped the flow of metals, machinery and petroleum products to Japan.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>William Petersen. Japanese Americans (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 54.

<sup>3</sup>Cross., p. 54.

Still the war effort in Japan was a considerable one, and Japan needed the exports the United States provided. There were official protests by the Japanese, but to no avail. The lines had been drawn, and later in the year Japan signed treaties of friendship with Germany and Italy.<sup>4</sup>

Up until this point the U.S. had maintained a neutrality stance. Many Americans wanted to maintain an isolationist policy, and not get directly involved in a messy war. However, the government leaders of the United States were more and more certain that war was imminent. Secretly, the United States was sending arms and war materials to Great Britain. The United States also was contributing to the war effort economically. A seven million dollar loan was granted by Congress to Great Britain, as well as two million dollars being set aside for the war effort of the Chinese.<sup>5</sup>

Both the United States and Japan were headed for war. Secret strategic plans were drawn up on both sides, and military branches were alerted to be ready for action. Japan's military plans called for the bombing of U.S. military bases in Manila and Pearl Harbor. Japan would then go on to take control of the Philippines, Malaya, and Burma.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

The complete plans were drawn up for the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese. Negotiations were going on in Washington with Japanese diplomats pleading for the export ban to be lifted. The Japanese were in critical need of oil, and they knew that this embargo must be lifted or else they would be slowly strangled to death. In a closed session the Japanese leaders decided that unless the U.S. lifted the oil embargo by the end of November 1941, Japan would go ahead with the plans to attack Pearl Harbor.<sup>7</sup>

Negotiations failed. The Japanese fleet was already in position, and Japanese orders were to attack Pearl Harbor. The first bombs were dropped by Japanese planes at 7:49 a.m., December 7, 1941.<sup>8</sup>

The war between the United States and Japan had begun. No Japanese living in the United States had any voice in the decisions that led to this war, yet they would be effected as dramatically as any group in America. Presently, there is an abundance of literature that deals with the Concentration Camps that 110,000 Americans were interned in during World War II. Many of these books are comprehensive in nature, and they deal with every

---

<sup>7</sup>Frank Chuman. The Bamboo People (Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976), p. 140.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

aspect of camp experience. It seems especially relevant to this author that instead of writing a report of the camps from secondary sources, that he consult a primary source that went through the camp experience first hand. The relevancy to this author comes from the fact that it is his own father who will serve as the primary source. The following story will be a typical Nisei's account of the experience. Of course, an account by a Nisei is extremely appropriate. It was the Nisei generation that was the most widely effected by the camp experience. As Daisuke Kitagawa cites:

In 1940, it was estimated that better than seventy-five percent of the people of Japanese descent in the United States (not including Hawaii) were Nisei, or "second generation."<sup>9</sup>

This author's father was a part of this second generation, and his story had a special meaning to me. It will be a subjective account, however historical sources will be interspersed which should provide added information and accuracy.

Around the 1930's, my father's family was struggling to make ends meet. About 1925 my grandfather had a massive stroke, and the family members had to carry the economic load. There was a total of seven children in the family, and this was an extremely heavy load to carry. All of my older aunts went to work

---

<sup>9</sup>Daisuke Kitagawa. Issei And Nisei The Internment Years (New York: Seabury Press, 1967), p. 20.

to help support the family. My dad being the oldest male also had to work. The family started a gas station around 1930. The family insisted he finish high school, so he worked after school and weekends while finishing his education. My grandfather also died around this time, but the family pulled together and got by. Things did get better, and for the next ten years the family was doing fairly well economically. The younger children were growing up, and business at the gas station was growing. My dad built up the gasoline business single-handedly. It was doing so well that it was one of the largest truck stops in the small town and outlying area of Santa Maria.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor caught my dad and most Japanese Americans off guard. Most Nisei had condemned Japan for its aggressive military action in China, and the fact that Japan had now attacked the United States led to shock and dismay. Immediately after the bombing, the gasoline business dropped off. My father's family sensed something big was coming, as they seldom went out, and mainly were content to stay at home. Only seven days after the bombing the F.B.I. agents came to my father's house, and asked for my grandfather. Since he had died years earlier, they called their office to see if they should take my grandmother. The reply was no, and the men left. It was probably good that my grandfather was gone from this world. He



would not have understood the action of being separated from his family without an adequate explanation. In some cases, the heads of Japanese families did not see their wives and children for months. No one was really told the truth of why they were being held and for how long.

J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the F.B.I. believed he had to move fast. Cross reports that within 24 hours of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 733 Japanese were arrested. Three days later they took another 637, and within the next few weeks they took 822 more.<sup>10</sup> Kitano reports that overall, 2,192 Japanese were taken into custody.<sup>11</sup> Daniels reports that the initial roundup of dangerous aliens was about 3,000 and half of these were Japanese.<sup>12</sup>

As always, the press was there to stir up anti-Japanese sentiment. In this case, it created an almost "racist hysteria" among many white Californians. Prior to the actual bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, the press had circulated stories about Japanese spies on the Pacific Coast. Six years before Pearl Harbor, there was a widespread story that there was a huge Japanese fishing

---

<sup>10</sup>Cross., p. 61.

<sup>11</sup>Harry Kitano. Japanese Americans (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 31.

<sup>12</sup>Roger Daniels. Concentration Camps USA (Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1971), p. 34.

fleet in California. The story claims that these Japanese fishermen were actually naval officers who were plotting a large scale military operation against the United States. Author Brett Melendy writes:

In 1935, a widespread story claimed there was an enormous Japanese fishing fleet operating out of California harbors using ships and constructed in Japan which could be transformed immediately into minelayers and torpedo boats. The myth held that the fleet was manned by Japanese naval officers disguised as fishermen. Carey McWilliams investigated these charges and found that of all fishing boats over 115 feet in length only two were Japanese owned. The rest belong to Italians, Finns, and Portuguese. Only ten Japanese boats were in the 85-110 foot range. At the same time, some Americans charged that there were 500,000 armed Japanese in the United States and 2,000 trained naval officers operating fishing boats. In 1935, actually there were only 158,834 Japanese in the United States, and only 680 of them were licensed fishermen out of California's total of 5,399.<sup>13</sup>

It is quite clear that the fear of Japanese Americans being spies and distinct threats to the security of the country was present years before the Pearl Harbor bombing. When the bombing actually took place, the press had all the proof it needed. Henry McLenmore, syndicated columnist for the Hearst Press wrote on January 29, 1942:

---

<sup>13</sup>Brett Melendy. The Oriental Americans (New York: Twayne, 1972), p. 155.

I am for the immediate removal of every Japanese on the West Coast to a point deep in the interior . . . let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry. Personally, I hate Japanese. And that goes for all of them.<sup>14</sup>

Also published in the Saturday Evening Post issue of May 9, 1942 was this comment by Austin Anson of the Grower-Shippers Association in Salinas, California:

If all the Japs were removed tomorrow, we'd never miss them . . . because the white farmer can take over and produce everything the Jap grows, and we don't want them back when the war ends either.<sup>15</sup>

Examples of typical headlines in the 1941-42 period read:

JAP BOAT FLASHES MESSAGE ASHORE

ENEMY PLANES SIGHTED OVER CALIFORNIA COAST

TWO JAPANESE WITH MAPS AND ALIEN LITERATURE  
SEIZED

JAP AND CAMERA HELD IN BAY CITY

VEGETABLES FOUND FREE OF POISON

CAPS ON JAPANESE TOMATO PLANTS POINT TO  
AIR BASE

JAPANESE HERE SENT VITAL DATA TO TOKYO

---

<sup>14</sup>Kitano, p. 32.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

CHINESE ABLE TO SPOT JAP

MAP REVEALS JAP MENANCE

JAPS PLAN COAST ATTACK IN APRIL WARNS CHIEF  
OF KOREAN SPY BAND<sup>16</sup>

So, the media pushed the already existing anti-Japanese American sentiment to even higher levels.

A few weeks later a curfew was placed on all Japanese Americans in the town. They could not travel long distances, and had to be in before a certain hour in the evening. Besides this, they were forced to turn in all of their cameras, binoculars, radios, swords, guns, etc. These items were taken and never returned. Some of these items were priceless. My family owned a beautiful heirloom sword that was to be handed down to each new generation. This along with new and expensive cameras and radios were turned into the police and never seen again. To further insult the family, F.B.I. agents returned later to search the house and see if all these items were indeed turned in.

It was not the loss of the monetary value of everyday items that was so tragic, rather it was the loss of the heirlooms--the cultural articles that carries tradition and history. Frank Chuman describes this emotional loss in talking about his Los Angeles

---

<sup>16</sup>Daniels,, p. 34.

family's reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor; it was Chuman's parents who thought it would be best to destroy as much evidence as possible of sentimental ties with Japan. Of this Chuman writes:

My father went to a dresser in his bedroom where he kept two samurai swords, one long for two hands, the other short. These were family treasures which had been handed down to him. His ancestors had been samurai, warriors of the Satsuma clan. I had looked forward to owning these swords some day, and many times had secretly taken them out to admire the magnificent blades. My father removed the swords from the beautiful inlaid cases and he and I took them out into the backyard. There he thrust both blades, bare and glistening, deep into the ground and we buried them. I was sad and disconsolate. Disposal of these beautiful pieces of Japanese workmanship seemed to be a symbolic rite. It was as though a tangible cultural tie with Japan were being severed.<sup>17</sup>

Many authors have different opinions as to who was responsible for the camps in the first place. TenBroek points to the "people of the nation in general, the people of the West Coast in particular."<sup>18</sup> Daniels and Kitano place the blame on the military: "But in the final analysis, it was the United States Army which was most responsible for the relocation."<sup>19</sup> Petersen even

---

<sup>17</sup>Bill Hosokawa. Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: Morrow, 1969), p. 233.

<sup>18</sup>Jacob ten Broek. Prejudice, War and The Constitution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 327.

<sup>19</sup>Roger Daniels and Harry Kitano. American Racism (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 59.

hypothesizes that the Communist party in America had a great influence on the decision.<sup>20</sup> Who was ultimately to blame is for the historians to play with. The facts point to a great number of combinations that eventually led up to the evacuation and internment order. Names such as DeWitt, Biddle, Warren, Bowron, Bendeltsen, and Roosevelt all played a part in the ultimate decision. Other factors such as the anti-Japanese history of California, the labor unions, the Communist influence in America, the press, the people of California, and who knows how many other factors contributed to the actual decision. The safest thing that can be said is the time was ripe for it, and all the elements fit in their place.

Historically, the military always had some concern over the possibility of Japanese American sabotage on the West Coast during this period. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the military started on plans of controlling this threat. On January 29, 1942, the United States Justice Department under the direction of Attorney General Francis Biddle designated security areas along the Pacific Coast that called for the removal of all enemy aliens from these areas.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup>Petersen., pp. 73-77.

<sup>21</sup>Kitano., p. 160.

The next month a West Coast Congressional delegation met informally to discuss the issue of evacuation. At this meeting were members of the Justice and War Departments. The Congressmen concluded that removal of enemy aliens and dual citizens was necessary. Of primary responsibility for persuading the delegation that this was necessary was one Lieutenant Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen of the Provost Marshal General's office. Influenced by General John De Witt, Bendetsen was a key figure at this meeting. Bendetsen later reported to his superiors that the Congressmen at the informal meeting were:

Calling for the immediate evacuation of all Japanese citizens of the age of twenty-one and under, and calling for an Executive order of the President imposing full responsibility and authority (with the power to requisition the services of other Federal agencies) upon the War Department.<sup>22</sup>

From this meeting, a set of recommendations were adopted on February 13, 1942 by a subcommittee in behalf of the West Coast Congressmen: These recommendations were sent to President Roosevelt. Getting a flavor of what was said:

We recommend the immediate evacuation of all persons of Japanese lineage and all others, aliens and citizens alike, whose presence shall be deemed dangerous or inimical to the defense of the United States from all strategic areas.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Melendy., p. 160.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

With some political pressure and a mounting fear, army officials like General De Witt persuaded the Roosevelt administration that some form of evacuation was necessary for the safety of national security. While the issue of evacuation was being discussed directly by the Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, and the Assistant Secretary of War, John McCloy, Roosevelt gave them the green light as to go ahead with any decision they deemed necessary. As Frank Chuman reports:

Apparently, without being particularly concerned that constitutional rights of United States citizens would be violated, that much needed food production would be disrupted, that thousands of troops would be required by such an evacuation program, or that badly needed trucks and trains would be diverted from transportation of troops and supplies, President Roosevelt told Stimson and McCloy by telephone to go ahead and do anything they thought necessary under the circumstances. Immediately after the phone conference at the White House, McCloy informed Bendetsen, now a Colonel: "We have a carte blanche to do what we want as far as the President is concerned. The President specifically authorized the evacuation of citizens. In doing so, he observed that there probably would be repercussions to such action, but said that what was to be done had to be dictated by the military necessity of the situation. Mr. Roosevelt's only qualification was 'Be as reasonable as you can.'"<sup>24</sup>

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed into law Executive Order 9066. This order gave the military the power to

---

<sup>24</sup>Chuman., pp. 158-159



designate specific areas as "military areas," and to exclude any and all persons. The order also authorized that the military provide transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations for all those it deemed to be excluded.<sup>25</sup>

With the signing of Executive Order 9066, the military moved quickly in the complete evacuation of Japanese Americans on the Pacific Coast. From March 24, 1942 to November 3, 1942, all Japanese Americans were evacuated quietly without much fanfare.<sup>26</sup>

Soon after the signing of Executive Order, 9066, General De Witt designated the Western half of Washington, Oregon, and California, and the Southern half of Arizona as a strategic military area. The announcement was also made that Japanese Americans would have to be removed from this area. De Witt urged that as many Japanese Americans move voluntarily before the military came to move them out. Of course, this voluntary evacuation did not work. There was not enough time to settle affairs and prepare to leave. Less than 3,000 left the Pacific Coast voluntarily.<sup>27</sup>

There was over 112,000 Japanese Americans on the Pacific Coast, and military leaders like De Witt wanted them all

---

<sup>25</sup>Kitano., p. 32.

<sup>26</sup>Chuman., p. 161.

<sup>27</sup>Cross., p. 73.

out. The figure of over a hundred thousand potential subateurs was a fear producing stereotype that the military and the press had a field day with. But an in depth look at the composition of this 112,000 shows that there was hardly over a hundred thousand "potential enemies." As Frank Chuman points out:

The 112,000 persons of a total Japanese population of 126,943 in all of the United States included men and women, citizens and aliens, the well and sick, infants and the aged. It is doubtful that General De Witt sincerely felt that some of these persons were "potential enemies," which he claimed were ready for "concerted action;" nor could he be really concerned with 7,000 children under the age of five years, or with 15,500 children under ten years of age. Nearly 50,000 of the 112,353 evacuees were women. Nearly 13,000 were males under fourteen years of age. Over 2,000 were over sixty-five years of age. Also approximately 1,000 of the remaining males were hospitalized, institutionalized, or suffering from infirmities that reduced their possible military usefulness to zero. There were less than 46,000 Japanese males between the ages of fourteen and sixty-five, several thousand of whom were serving in the United States Army. Thus, the figure of 112,000 "potential enemies" was patently absurd.<sup>28</sup>

In April 1942, all people of Japanese extraction were banned from the Pacific Coast. The voluntary evacuation date was over, and a specific deadline in which evacuation was to take place was posted in the Japanese American communities. Families were only allowed to take what they could carry with them. Since they

---

<sup>28</sup>Chuman., p. 162.

did not know where they were going, they did not know what to take. My family took heavy clothes in preparation for cold weather, but they ended up on the desert where it was extremely hot.

They lost everything. My dad recalls that they had Church sales in which they tried to get some money for their possessions. He tells me that brand new vacuum cleaners sold for two dollars. Outside people knew that they had to leave by a certain deadline, and they took advantage of this. There was not enough time to sell the gas station, so my dad had to abandon it. Thousands of dollars in heavy equipment was lost. The major gas company took it over, and never paid a penny for any of it.

First, my family went to a temporary camp, and lived in a barrack at an empty race track. These assembly centers were temporary round-up areas. Many of the permanent camps were not constructed in time so Japanese Americans were placed in these assembly centers until the administrative work and construction of the permanent camps was completed. A complete listing of these assembly centers is provided by Hosokawa:

TABLE 4

U. S. Assembly Centers<sup>29</sup>

Assembly Center	Maximum Population	Occupied
Puyallap, Wa. (fair- grounds)	7,390	April 28-Sept. 12
Portland, Ore. (livestock ex- position hall)	3,676	May 2-Sept. 10
Marysville, CA.	2,451	May 8-June 29
Sacramento, CA.	4,739	May 6-June 26
Tanforan Racetrack near San Francisco, CA.	7,816	April 28-Oct. 13
Stockton, CA.	4,271	May 10-Oct. 17
Turlock, CA.	3,661	April 30-Aug. 12
Salinas, CA.	3,586	April 27-July 4
Merced, CA.	4,508	May 6-Oct. 30
Pinedale, CA.	4,792	May 7-July 23
Fresno, CA.	5,120	May 6-Oct. 30
Tulare, CA.	4,978	April 30-Sept. 4
Santa Anita Racetrack, Los Angeles	18,719	May 7-Oct. 27
Pomona, CA.	5,434	May 7-Aug. 24
Mayer, Arizona	245	May 7-June 2

<sup>29</sup>Hosokawa., p. 329.

From these assembly centers they were moved into the permanent "relocation centers" that were located away from the Pacific Coast. There was a total of ten camps in all, and they operated from 1942 to 1946. Daniels calls all ten sites "God-forsaken." He then adds: "they were in places where nobody had lived before and no one has lived since."<sup>30</sup>

A complete listing of the camps and their approximate occupation is listed in the following table:

---

<sup>30</sup>Daniels., p. 113.

TABLE 5

U. S. Concentration Camps<sup>31</sup>

Location	Population
CALIFORNIA	
Manzanar	10,046
Tule Lake	18,789
ARIZONA	
Poston	17,814
Gila River	13,348
UTAH	
Topaz	8,130
IDAHO	
Minidoka	9,397
COLORADO	
Granada	7,318
WYOMING	
Heart Mountain	10,767
ARKANSAS	
Rohwer	8,475
Jerome	8,497

---

<sup>31</sup>Melendy., p. 162

My family was sent to Gila, Arizona. The family lived in poorly constructed, army-style barracks. There was very little privacy, and whole families were separated by bed sheets. Inside the camp all of the work was done by the Japanese themselves. They cooked, cleaned, and built up the camp. Japanese teachers and doctors ran the schools and hospitals.

There was freedom of movement inside the camp, but no one could venture beyond the barbed wire and machine guns. There were no ovens or mass killings, but people still died unnecessarily. A few Japanese Americans were killed by nervous guards. Our family lost my mother's mother in the camp due to inadequate medical facilities. She died of a goiter that could have been taken care of if there were adequate hospital facilities. The camp was not an Auschwitz, but death is still death. If it was not for the camps, she would not have died there. Who knows how many others died due to lack of medical care, or inability to adapt to the environment?

For the most part, the camps were free from large scale violence and riots. However, there was conflict from the beginning of the camps. The stereotype that the camps were peaceful and cooperative is just that--a stereotype. There was conflict between the officials of the camp and those interned, and there was conflict among the internees themselves. To paint any other picture would

be illogical. Herding that many people together under the historical circumstances was bound to bring conflict. As Daniels comments:

But from the very beginning of their confinement, the evacuated people were in conflict, both with their keepers and with each other. These conflicts started even before the evacuation began, grew in the Assembly Centers, and were intensified in the concentration camps; their effects are still felt in the contemporary Japanese American community as the questioning and often angry members of the third, or Sansei, generation--many of whom began their lives behind barbed wire or in exile--question the relative compliance of most of their parents a quarter century ago.<sup>32</sup>

After the concentration camps had been in operation about a year, the United States Army shifted their position, and decided that they needed Japanese American power. The army decided to create an all-Nisei combat team comprised of "loyal" citizens from Hawaii and the camps themselves. The question of loyalty would first have to be ascertained, and the army turned this over to the WRA (War Relocation Authority--which was responsible for the relocation centers themselves). The WRA jumped at this opportunity, but instead of questioning just those males over the age of seventeen, the WRA administered a loyalty questionnaire to all over the age of seventeen. The two most important questions in the questionnaire were:

---

<sup>32</sup>Daniels., pp. 105-106.



- No. 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?
- No. 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of alliance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, to any other foreign government power or organization?<sup>33</sup>

The injustice of such questions is obvious, and many Japanese Americans reacted with a negative hostility towards the WRA for imposing such a questionnaire. They were loaded questions, and the implications of them were very clear to all those interned. If, out of spite one answered "no" to both questions, that person most likely would be shipped to Tule Lake (a camp that was designated for those disloyal Japanese dissidents), and then perhaps deported out of the country. If one answered "yes" to both questions, and were a male of draftable age, one would likely be drafted into the military to fight in the war. The Issei probably had the most trouble in answering the questions, for the majority of Nisei knew what course they had to take. Daniels cited the decision of a former University of California Nisei student who was confronted with the loyalty questions:

---

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

. . . it was a hard decision . . . I know that this will be the only way that my family can resettle in Berkeley without prejudice and persecution.<sup>34</sup>

The majority of Nisei answered the questions affirmatively.

Daniel gives statistical results of the questionnaire:

Out of the nearly 78,000 inmates who were eligible to register almost 75,000 eventually filled out the questionnaire. Approximately 6,700 of the registrants answered "no" to question 28; nearly 2,000 qualified their answers in one way or another, and thus were set down in the government's books as "disloyal;" and a few hundred simply left the question blank. The overwhelming majority--more than 65,000 answered "yes" to question 28. More than 1,200 Nisei volunteered for combat and about two-thirds of them were eventually accepted for military service.<sup>35</sup>

My father and three of my uncles were drafted, and ironically, ended up in military intelligence as interpreters. As soldiers, Japanese Americans paid their dues. The 442 Regimental Combat team (comprised of all Japanese Americans) was the most highly decorated unit in the United States Army history. In seven major campaigns the 442nd suffered almost 10,000 casualties, more than three times its original strength. Over 600 Japanese American soldiers were killed in action or died of wounds later.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 114

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

My family left Gila four years after they arrived there. Since the Pacific Coast was still closed off to Japanese they traveled East and ended up in Chicago, Illinois. Each one of them was given a train ticket and twenty-five dollars.

The camp experience made a major impact on the lives of the second generation. They were native born American citizens, but they were locked up and told they were traitors. The vast majority of Nisei had no ties whatsoever with Japan, yet they were visibly identified as the Japanese enemy. The logical reaction for them since they had to identify with Japan was to prove that they were loyal to the United States. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) was organized in the 1930's and this organization exemplified this patriotic spirit. It was a Nisei organization, and it expressed the predominate view of most second generation Japanese Americans. They were loyal citizens of the United States who wanted to better themselves for a stronger America. This sense of patriotism can be seen in the Japanese American Creed that Mike Masaoka (National Secretary of the JACL) composed in 1941:

I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this nation. I believe in her institutions, ideals and traditions; I glory in her heritage; I boast in her history; I trust in her future. . . . Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall

never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people. True, I shall do all in my power to discourage such practices, but I shall do it in the American way: above board, in the open, through courts of law, by education, by proving myself to be worthy of equal treatment and consideration. . . . Because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me. . . . I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and in all places . . . in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America.<sup>37</sup>

The Japanese Christian Church in America also played a role during this war time period. As already mentioned, this author's father recalls that the Christian Church that they went to had public sales to help them sell some of their possessions before the evacuation. The Church also reinforced the sense of community and security in this time of uncertainty for the Japanese American.

Dr. Lester Suzuki has written the most extensive piece of work on the Japanese American Churches and the relocation center experience. However, this only covers the time period of 1941 on. There is very little historical research done on the Japanese American Church in the time period that directly precedes the wartime period. Needless to say, a comprehensive history needs to be done on this particular time period.

Using Dr. Suzuki's work, it appears that during this time of 1941 on, many Japanese Americans relied on the Church for

---

<sup>37</sup>Petersen., p. 58.

strength and guidance. When Japanese Americans went through the process of evacuation to the concentration camps, it was a tremendous life change for them. In facing the uncertainty of their future there occurred wide spread anxiety among the Japanese Americans themselves. It appears that the Church had its hand in lessening the heavy trauma of evacuation throughout the entire procedure. As Dr. Suzuki writes:

When the evacuation inevitably came about many churches became places of registration for the evacuation, and just about all the churches became store houses for some belongings of many members and friends. For instance, Centenary Methodist Church was the place of registration as well as the departure point. In Berkeley, California, the First Congregational Church was used as the place of registration and departure.

When Terminal Island had to be evacuated ahead of time long before the mass evacuations, the Christian Churches, beginning with the American Baptist Church, were right there to assist in moving, encouraging, providing lunches, and assisting the government agents in interpreting and bringing about understanding. When the first mass evacuation began in Bainbridge Island, Washington, the Christian Churches, especially the Caucasian workers of the Japanese Baptist Church of Seattle were right there giving aid and assistance in an understanding way.<sup>38</sup>

As already mentioned, Japanese Americans were put into temporary Assembly Centers where they stayed while the permanent camps were being built. Dr. Suzuki tells us that at these

---

<sup>38</sup>Sumio Koga (ed.). A Centennial Legacy (Chicago: Nobart, 1977), p. 40.

temporary centers, most of the denominations pooled their resources to form one united Church. There were some exceptions such as the Seventh Day Adventists and Holiness Churches, but for the most part, all the denominations cooperated.<sup>39</sup>

When Japanese Americans were relocated to the permanent camps, all of them had Christian services and Church related activities. Some of the camps had very well developed Christian programs. For example, Suzuki writes about Manzanar:

Manzanar was started out as an Assembly Center but it was converted into a Relocation Center. Regular, consistent services beginning from 6:00 a.m. morning prayer meetings, devotional meeting, Sunday School, Adult Bible Study, two Japanese worship services, English worship services, evening evangelistic meeting, and young people's fellowships, were part of the program.<sup>40</sup>

It appears that the church was a source of strength for many Japanese Americans during this time period. In this sense, the church was a positive factor in enabling some Japanese Americans to get through the concentration camp experience. After the war, churches and church leaders would further assist to help concentration camp returnees. Suzuki states that Church sponsored hostels were established in big cities such as Chicago, New York,

---

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

Detroit, Columbus, Des Moines, St. Paul, Kansas City, Denver, Salt Lake City, etc.<sup>41</sup> These hostels were safe places in which the returnees could stay until they were able to get places of their own. When the Pacific Coast was finally opened up to Japanese Americans, many of them moved back to their home areas. Those that did return eventually began to build up and re-organize their home churches. These were the "booming" years of the Japanese American Churches, as worship services and Sunday School classes were filled to the brim. Japanese Americans sought the security and comfort of their own people after reeling from the heavy racist attacks made on them during the war.

As the Japanese Americans continued to rebuild their financial and social lives, the Japanese Churches began to slowly decline. In the 1950's and 1960's the cry from the White church leaders was to integrate. The pressure was placed on the Japanese American Churches to merge with existing White churches. A few Japanese American Churches did heed this call, and merged with larger White congregations. Unfortunately, it was a costly experiment for these few Japanese American Churches. The Japanese American Churches were swallowed up by the more aggressive White parishioners. The unique Japanese American

---

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

psychology was not understood by the White congregation, and as a result, many Japanese Americans dropped out of the Church completely. At this time integration was not the answer, for it met with very little success, and in some cases downright failure.

The end of World War II brought a bleak economic realization for the vast majority of Japanese Americans. The war had cost them everything--their property, material possessions, and their freedom. While many other groups had advanced forward, the Japanese Americans had taken two giant steps backward. Roger Daniels gives credence to this point:

For most American businessmen and the economy as a whole, World War II was a time of high profits, the prelude to affluence. Every identifiable socio-economic group in the United States, save one, profited from the war; for the Japanese Americans, it was a serious economic setback. Although most did not become impoverished, their economic progress was significantly retarded, not only during the war but in the post-war period as well.<sup>42</sup>

The government who was responsible for the evacuation was also responsible for reparations. Unfortunately, the government could never match the total losses of Japanese Americans. This difference was just too great. Harry Kitano gives the statistics of Japanese American losses:

---

<sup>42</sup>Daniels., p. 169.



An evacuation claims bill attempted to repay some of the financial losses borne by the Japanese. The payments were meager, with the average rate of settlement estimated at 10 cents per dollar. In 1942, the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimated the total loss for evacuees at \$40,000,000 and when the last claim was adjudicated in October 1, 1964, the Government had authorized payment of \$38,000,000 to 26,560 claimants.<sup>43</sup>

But like their Issei parents before them, the Nisei slowly moved up the economic ladder of success. Starting with nothing at the end of World War II, they moved up slowly to attain middle class status by the late fifties. Like their parents, they achieved this through hard work and determination, but they added one important ingredient in their climb to success--education. The majority of Nisei put a great deal of stock in education. In the 1950's the average level of education for the Nisei was above the high school level.<sup>44</sup> But academic education was not the only form of education that the Nisei attained. Many of them became skilled in the area of vocational training. Those that did not go to college learned the intricacies of auto mechanics, plumbing, carpentry, beauty operations, etc.

After the racist fever of World War II had died down, the Nisei were praised by their employers as hard workers and very

---

<sup>43</sup>Kitano., p. 47.

<sup>44</sup>Minako Maykovich. Japanese American Identity Dilemma (Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 1972), p. 52.

industrious. They quickly moved into the white collar and skilled trade jobs where they did exceptionally well. The majority of Nisei were quiet, unassuming types. They did not wish to rock the boat, but merely make their way up the American success ladder.

Again, it is important to emphasize that there were many factors in the success of Japanese Americans. Caudill stresses the compatibility of Japanese and American middle class values.<sup>45</sup> Kitano sees the success as a result of the functional compatibility and interaction between the Japanese and American middle class values.<sup>46</sup> Many factors such as these probably interacted in favor of Japanese Americans.

But whatever the reasons, the results have become obvious. The Nisei has acculturated into the main stream of middle class America. They have worked hard to be respected by the White society. This author has seen such a psychology working in his own family. My father hating gardening, but insisted on keeping up the yard by himself (we could not afford a gardener) because people might say, "look at those Japanese, they don't even take care of their own yard." The point here is he wanted respect, and

---

<sup>45</sup>Kitano., p. 112.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

not total assimilation. He did not care to be invited over to their house, but he wanted them to respect his worth as a good neighbor. Roy Sano has used this distinction in some of his descriptions of Japanese Americans. Sano cites Milton Gordon's study of Assimilation in American Life, as providing a distinct difference between acculturation and assimilation. Gordon sees acculturation as a surface level assimilation. Acculturation thus refers to the adopting of behavioral and cultural patterns from the host culture. However, assimilation goes a step deeper. Gordon cites many stages of assimilation, but they all point to the step one takes in moving away from the confines of one's own culture.<sup>47</sup>

Furthermore, Gordon distinguishes two types of cultural patterns that characterize any ethnic group. First, there are a set of intrinsic cultural traits that ethnic groups have. These are comprised of the deeper level of cultural traits; they are the intimately rooted feelings and values that are unique to the particular ethnic group. As Gordon describes this intrinsic trait:

Some, like its religious beliefs and practices, its ethnical values, its musical tastes, folk recreation patterns, literature historical language, and sense of a common past, are essential and vital ingredients of

---

<sup>47</sup> Milton Gordon. Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 64-71.

the group's cultural heritage, and derive exactly from that heritage. We shall refer to these as intrinsic cultural traits or patterns.<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand, the extrinsic cultural traits are characterized as being more surface level. Again to quote Gordon:

Others, such as dress, manner, patterns of emotional expression, and minor oddities in pronouncing and inflecting English, tend to be products of the historical vicissitudes of a group's adjustment to its local environment, including the present one (and also reflect social class experiences and values), and are in a real sense, external to the core of the group's ethnic cultural heritage. These may conveniently be referred to as extrinsic cultural traits or patterns.<sup>49</sup>

In applying this scheme to second generation Japanese Americans, one has to conclude that they have acculturated to a great degree on the extrinsic level, but have not done so on the intrinsic level. As mentioned earlier in the paper, there is a marked compatibility between Japanese and American middle class values. Because of this compatibility, Japanese Americans did not have to undergo dramatic changes on the intrinsic level.

Gordon concludes in his book that many immigrant groups have undergone rapid acculturation, but have been resistant to complete assimilation. Certainly, this is characteristic of the

---

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

first and second generations of Japanese Americans. They have rapidly acculturated in terms of dress, diet, language, vocation, entertainment, etc., yet the majority of these traits are designed as extrinsic. However, the intrinsic, or intimate associations are dominated by the ethnic community of which the Japanese American is a part of.

There is much evidence to prove that Japanese Americans have stayed within the confines of their own sub-group. First and foremost, there are the family ties, which for the majority of Japanese Americans, has remained close knit. Among the Nisei, family ties have remained close, and many times brothers and sisters function as the "best of friends" in relationships. In this sense, family members see each other socially a great deal. In the case of this author's family, the parents and offspring get together far more than with any outside association (such as business associates, neighbors, school friends, etc.). In reality, this author's best friends are his sister and her husband, and his parents.

There is also evidence in the great number of Japanese American community organizations. The community spirit has always been important to Japanese, and this has carried over to the generations that have come to America. The Issei have had their Japanese Associations and Kinjinkais (or prefectural

organizations), the Nisei have had the JACL, bowling leagues, dancing classes, and sports leagues for their children. The Ethnic Church has also functioned as a primary community contact for both Issei and Nisei. In areas like Los Angeles, the Japanese American community has been especially close. Because there are concentrated geographic pockets of Japanese Americans (like Gardena, Orange County, etc.), one finds a great cohesiveness among Japanese Americans. In the past year, this author has not had many occasions in which he ventured outside this Japanese American community. His church work involved him in a 750 member Japanese American Church; his social life involved him with Japanese American young adults and college students; he went to Japanese American dances, and participated in Japanese American sports leagues. In short, all of his intimate associations have been with Japanese Americans. It should be noted that this has not been a unique experience for this author. All my life, I have had some association with the Japanese community. However, I have been removed from the Japanese community in the course of my education career, and this has given to me a more objective picture of the community itself. One thing that strikes me everytime circumstances call me to remove myself from the Japanese Community is the safety of that particular community. The first time I was removed from the Japanese community for a great

length of time (and had to deal with an all-white community), I remember the sense of lostness and insecurity. Surely, my being away from familiar territory had a lot to do with my insecurity, but there was a definite sense of missing the safety of my ethnic community. A way to give added credence to this example is to express the fact that I did not feel this same sense of insecurity when I moved from my home Japanese Community in the Bay Area to a totally different, yet Japanese American Community in Southern California. The security of being with my own people, whom I understand and relate to is a strong factor in this whole issue. I am an acculturated American but assimilated I am not.

Another reason for Japanese Americans not being totally assimilated comes from the psychological realm. Mentioned earlier was the fact that the Issei were not marginal people. Their ties were with Japan, and they did not wish for any form of assimilation. The Nisei were more effected by marginality, for they were American in outlook, but Japanese by blood. But for the most part, they worked through their identity crisis by having pride in their own unique Nisei identity. In this respect, they felt they were the perfect blend of Japanese and American. As Maykovich points out:

The Nisei exhibit a quiet but deep and pervasive pride in their Nisei identity. This pride is not rooted in their material success, but in their

character. Nisei believe that they possess a perfect balance of Japanese and American traits. Nisei character is exhibited at its best in control over emotions and suppression of inappropriate expressiveness. It is the pride that the Nisei take in this character that helps them to maintain an objective existence as a group.<sup>50</sup>

Maykovich goes on to point out that the group cohesiveness of Japanese Americans is a way for them to keep this subjective identity and to cope with the elements of the outer world. Maykovich is pointing to the safety of the Japanese community, much like this author was talking about earlier--As she concludes:

The Nisei group provides the individual with an emotional haven from the unpredictable elements of the outer world. But the Nisei group is threatened by both centripetal and centrifugal forces, individual withdrawal, and acculturative transcendence. Should collective identity be dissolved into individuals, couples, or small cliques, the Nisei loses both the objective existence and subjective identity. Should individuals escape the generational group by moving out into the world of the non-Japanese, the objective and subjective sense of Nisei identity again would lose their force.<sup>51</sup>

It is of little wonder that the Japanese American churches flourished during the post World War II era. Japanese Americans were reeling from the racism that interned them in concentration camps. The Japanese American community provided a heaven for

---

<sup>50</sup>Maykovich., p. 57.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 57.



security and identification. The Japanese American churches that were abandoned during the internment years again sprang up in the heart of the ethnic community.

It seems clear that the Nisei needed, and today continue to need, an all Ethnic Church. They have become acculturated, but not assimilated, and they need the ethnic ties of their own people. Although Americanized in many ways, the Nisei still have too many traits that are not understood by Whites.

In a previous chapter, the concept of enryo was dealt with. It was thus noted that the original meaning of the term "enryo" had to do with the way inferiors interact with superiors. In this sense, enryo meant that one was submissive in the face of authority. This manner of action has been carried over to the second generation of Japanese Americans, so that in an integrated group there is a hesitancy by Nisei to take charge. There is a quiet submission in allowing more aggressive groups to take over. Thus, enryo can be seen as the reason behind Japanese Americans lack of aggressiveness and quiet conformity. However, this lack of assertiveness has hindered the personal development of many Japanese Americans. As Kitano asserts:

However, in America, the full consequences of the enryo syndrome--including its devaluation of self and family--have never been fully understood by

the population. It has helped the Japanese "look good" in Caucasian eyes because of its lack of aggressiveness and high conformity, but for the Japanese American the cost of goodness may have been very high. A full development of an individual's potentialities would surely be hindered under such a norm.<sup>52</sup>

It is precisely this development of potentialities that is the key ingredient in the Japanese American ethnic church. Given the fact that Japanese Americans display this hesitancy in integrated groups, leads to the fact that the majority of them do not fare well in a fully integrated church. Their lack of aggressiveness forces them to the fringes of involvement, while the more aggressive groups take over. This exact phenomenon occurred in Loomis, California when a Japanese American congregation integrated with a White congregation. The majority of Japanese Americans in the church "enryoed," and the more aggressive Whites took over the leadership and control of the church. The Japanese Americans stepped back, and slowly ceased to be an integral part of the church. The end result was that most of the Japanese Americans ceased to become active, and an integrated church is now a predominantly White church.

Another off-shoot of enryo that further foils the development of Japanese Americans is the fact that they downplay their

---

<sup>52</sup>Kitano., p. 105.

abilities. Like any racial group there is a natural curve of individuals whose abilities range from low to high. Many Japanese Americans possess great talents, yet they down-play their abilities, and hesitate to perform out of "enryo." Kitano has identified this phenomenon as Hi-ge:

Hi-ge, also a part of the enryo syndrome, leads to social interaction that is difficult for many Americans to understand. For example, if an American praises the Japanese wife, the husband may respond, "Oh no, it's not true." Or the Japanese husband may introduce his wife as "here is my stupid wife." Or the Japanese may denigrate his children, or himself or others close to him because his norms preclude the praising of self or family. Such praise, especially in public, is considered to be in very poor taste, except in certain formalized circumstances.<sup>53</sup>

This author has experienced first hand, the full implications of hi-ge. Most Japanese Americans know what the feeling is like to hold back even though one knows he/she has the ability to perform the necessary task. On numerous occasions, I have held back (out of enryo) in sports competitions, talent shows, running for school offices, and in the classroom. Most Japanese American students know what it is to hold back the answer to a question that one knows when the teacher asks the question to the entire class. It is a way of not being too obvious and brass.

---

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 104-105.

In the church, this characteristic can be easily identified. Even in the Japanese American Church, an individual will turn down the Administrative Board chairperson job, or Lay Leader, or Head of one of the Commissions, out of what amounts to enryo. But in an Ethnic Church the leadership has to be filled by the indigenous leadership, and this cultivates the full development of Japanese American individuals.

Some individuals like Warren Furutani see hi-ge as a built in mechanism that enabled early Japanese American immigrants and their off-spring to survive the intense racial hatred showered upon them in America. In this sense, Asian Americans were quiet, reserved--they became invisible to survive.<sup>54</sup>

Whether this is a national trait that was reinforced for survival purposes, or the opposite is not the issue. The point is, that it is a very real and significant factor in the personality make-up of Japanese Americans. It is detrimental to their full development as people.

Some authors such as Kitano claim that the positive effects of the concentration camp experience was that it allowed Japanese Americans to reach their full potentials for the first time. In

---

<sup>54</sup>Warren Furutani. Personal Communications, June, 1974.

this sense, they took on the leadership, administration, and positive roles that had been denied them before this point. This author concedes that in the camp experience, the negativism far outweighed the positivism, but he can see the point that people like Kitano are making. To reach full potentialities there must be a suitable climate to do so. It seems logical to conclude that an integrated church does not provide this necessary climate. In this final sense, the Japanese American ethnic church, and the surrounding ethnic community was, and still is necessary for the full development of the Japanese American Nisei.

After the war and the concentration camp experience, the Nisei were determined to uplift their economic and social status. Though the factors are numerous in their climb to success, their determination and will power were factors in the eventual outcome. Today, the vast majority of Japanese Americans are comfortably secure in the middle class way of life. They have attained a very high level of educational and economical success.

In terms of education, their median level is the highest of any group in the United States. Statistically, the percentage of Japanese American men who have had only an elementary school education or less (15%) is just under half of the United States male

norm (27%). 70% of all Japanese males over 16 years of age have finished high school, and 19% have finished college. These percentages are strides ahead of the national averages of 54% and 13% respectively.<sup>55</sup>

With Japanese females in the United States the same statistical trends are evident. The percentage of Japanese females with eight years of school or less is 17%--far lower than that of the United States female norm of 25%. Likewise, the percentage of Japanese females who finish college (11%) is greater than the percentage of United States females as a whole (8%). The percentage of Japanese females who have completed high school (67%) is 12 percentage points above the United States average (55%).<sup>56</sup>

Occupationally, Japanese males rank higher than the United States norm in the number of professional, technical, managerial and administrative workers. The percentage of Japanese males in these white collar occupations is 33%. This is compared to the national average of 25%--a difference of 8 percentage points.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup>"A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census" Volume II: Asian Americans (HEW Publications No. (OS) 75-121)., p. 69.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., pp. 86-87.

Economically, the median income of a Japanese American family is \$12,515. This is almost \$3,000 over the median income of the United States norm of \$9,590. However, there are some disproportionate statistics reported when the findings are closely examined. As the census report reveals:

An analysis of income levels of men in the total United States population and in the Japanese population relative to the proportions with a college education and to the proportions in higher status white collar jobs, reveals that the income levels of Japanese in the United States are lagging behind those of the total population.

In the total population, there are 1.5 men 25-34 years old earning over \$10,000 to every one man with a college degree. In this same age group, there are 1.1 men earning over \$10,000 for every Japanese male with a college degree and for every Japanese male in a professional or managerial occupation. The income lag also exists among males 35-44 years of age.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the disproportionate percentages in income, the Japanese American still must be seen as having attained a high level of success in America. The majority of Nisei are economically set; they have good jobs, nice homes, and a comfortable existence. Financially, they are typically middle class, with some of them reaching in the upper class bracket.

Unfortunately, with this financial success has come the supercilious attitude that they have made it. In many cases,

---

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

(without really knowing it) the Nisei frame of reference has become that of the capitalist oppressor. Many Nisei believe that through hard work and determination all minority groups can make it in this society. In this respect, one hears often among middle age Nisei the comment, "We made it, why can't they?" (in reference to other minority groups in America). Reflecting on this condescending attitude, Daniel Okimoto states:

However, the Nisei community is in little danger of winning medals for social crusading on the behalf of those outside its own circle. Socio-political apathy continues for fellow humans is graphically captured in the statement I have heard expressed much too often: "We've made it. We've overcome the barriers of racial prejudice without help from anyone else. Why can't others?" S.I. Hayakawa embodied this hardhearted outlook in its extreme when he simplistically suggested that Negroes emulate Niseis in their struggle to find a place in society.<sup>59</sup>

However, on a deeper level, Japanese Americans have not really made it at all. Sure, they have attained some economic and educational success, but on the deeper humanistic levels they have fallen far short. Again to quote Okimoto:

True, Japanese Americans have succeeded in securing a comfortable bourgeois life, an accomplishment for which we have earned the rousing commendation of the White majority. But this praise, it must be

---

<sup>59</sup>Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, and Franklin Odo (eds.) Roots: An Asian American Reader (Los Angeles: Continental Graphics, 1971), p. 16.



realized has been based on value judgments that ultimately serve the purposes of the established social order. Professor Harry Kitano, in his informative book, correctly points out that "the judgments of Japanese Americans as the 'model American minority' is made from a strictly majority point of view. Japanese Americans are good because they conform--they don't make waves--they work hard and are quiet and docile." When this lauded minority sits back indifferently and says, "We've made it, why can't they?" I doubt whether we have succeeded in any but the narrowest materialistic definition of the word. For a broader spiritual and humanistic sense we have failed abysmally, not only as a minority group but as compassionate human beings.<sup>60</sup>

As it stands, the Japanese American success story has been a negative example in a pedagogy of the oppressed. It is a perfect example of an oppressed group that has not been able to break out of the oppressor-oppressed frame of reference. In this case the Japanese Americans have fought and struggled to attain the oppressors stance. They are engaging in the very dehumanization and anti-life that their oppressors once practiced on them. They have attained materialistic success, but they have missed the creation of the "new person."

We have already concluded that the majority of Nisei need the ethnicity of the Japanese American Christian Church. The ethnic church will continue to be the church of the second generation. However, the ethnic church must live up to the radical

---

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-17.

demand of Jesus and the Holy Scriptures. The Church must function as the mid-wife in the birth of the new person.

It immediately becomes apparent that this means dealing with the mentality of the oppressors. However, Japanese Americans are in the unique position of having attained the oppressors stance only recently. The Issei and Nisei know what it is to be oppressed--their history is not so remote that they cannot identify with oppression.

Being in such a unique position, Japanese Americans must first become cognizant of their oppressor's stance. They must recognize that they are caught in the oppressor-oppressed scheme, and their oppressor's nature can only be eliminated in their struggle to free themselves. This calls for a dramatic conscientization of Japanese Americans.

Once Japanese Americans reach this state of consciousness, then they must reach a solidarity with the oppressed people of the world. This solidarity is much more than a paternalistic affirmation of the oppressed like a pat on the back. It involves a radical identification with the oppressed people of the world. Paulo Freire explains this solidarity in detail:

Discovering himself to be an oppressor may cause considerable anguish, but it does not necessarily lead to solidarity with the oppressed. Rationalizing his guilt through paternalistic treatment of the oppressed, all the while holding them fast in a position of dependence will not do. Solidarity requires that one

enter into the situation of those with whom one is solidary; it is a radical posture. If what characterizes the oppressed is their subordination to the consciousness of the master, as Hegel affirms, true solidarity with the oppressed means fighting at their side to transform the objective reality which has made them these "beings for another." The oppressor is solidary with the oppressed only when he stops regarding the oppressed as an abstract category and sees them as persons who have been unjustly dealt with, deprived of their voice, cheated in the sale of their labor--when he stops making pious, sentimental, and individualistic gestures and risks as acts of love. True solidarity is found only in the plenitude of this act of love, in its existentiality, in its praxis. To affirm that men are persons and as persons should be free, and yet to do nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality, is a farce.<sup>61</sup>

Of course, we are talking about a radical transformation, and this is something that will not easily be attained. However, the "new person" or one who is no longer oppressor, nor oppressed, but one who is life-affirming and growth in freedom oriented must be the goal of all Christian churches. The ethnic church as an institution can no longer be an accommodating entity, and continue to perpetuate the existing social structure. The ethnic church must voice the prophetic call of liberation, and this involves a radical transformation of the existing Japanese American Christian Church.

---

<sup>61</sup>Paulo Freire. Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), p. 35.

Here, the leadership of that church will play an important role. The best strategy for the Japanese American Christian Church would seem to be one in which a "loving confrontation" takes place. A confrontation has to take place if Japanese Americans are to become aware of their oppressors stance. However, this confrontation must be done in the context of Christian love. It must be a life-affirming and growth oriented confrontation.

This is the task at hand for the leadership of the Nisei church. It will take a tremendous amount of courage and faith to see it through, but we must begin the steps to the new person if we are to usher in the Kingdom here on earth.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE SANSEI

The third generation or Sansei have been characterized by various writers (Kitano, Maykovich, Uno, etc.) as being plagued with identity problems. As this paper has tried to show, the Issei did not have identity problems due to the fact that they had close ties to their home land Japan. The Nisei has more problems in this area, but because of their historical situation, they pursued the goal of identifying with America, yet retaining pride in their uniqueness as Nisei. Unfortunately, the Sansei do not have clear cut choices. They are in the process of groping for a new ethnic identity.

The reasons for this identity crisis is two fold. First, they are almost totally acculturated into the American way of life. They are three generations removed from Japan. They are the product of parents who strived to be 200 percent American, and who have achieved relative success. The end result is an almost fully acculturated Japanese American. The majority of Sansei test results and values are typically American middle class. As Kitano has written about the third generation:

Sansei are, on most measurements of acculturation, completely identical to the Caucasian group. Their test results, achievement and interest preference, and social values are typically American. They are members of Little League, fraternities, sororities, and other organizations designed upon American models, although these are still primarily ethnic in their membership. But even these structural barriers are breaking down. Sansei college students now sometimes join non-Japanese fraternities and sororities, and intermarriage is increasing, although the preference of most remains to marry within the group. In general, however, Sansei thinking and behavior are typically American.<sup>1</sup>

However, the identity crisis occurs due to the fact that Sansei are physically different from the established white norm. No matter how Americanized the third generation is, they still look different from the Caucasian norm. Poet and songwriter Joann Miyamoto expresses her struggle with this physical difference in the following poem:

When I was young  
kids used to ask me  
What are you?  
I'd tell them what my mom told me  
I'm an American

---

<sup>1</sup>Harry Kitano. Japanese Americans: The evolution of a Subculture. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969) p. 142.

chin chin Chinaman  
 You're a Jap!  
 flashing hot inside  
 I'd go home  
 my mom would say  
 don't worry  
 he who walks alone  
 walks faster

people kept asking me  
 what are you?  
 and I would always answer  
 I'm an American  
 they'd say  
 no, what nationality?  
 I'm an American  
 that's where I was born  
 flashing hot inside  
 and when I'd tell them what they wanted to know  
 Japanese.....  
 Oh I've been to Japan

I'd get it over with  
 so they could catalogue and file me  
 pigeon-hole me  
 so they'd know just how  
 to think of me  
 priding themselves  
 they could guess the difference  
 between Japanese and Chinese  
 they had me wishing I was what I'd  
 been seeing in movies and on T.V.  
 on billboards and in magazines

and I tried  
 while they were making laws in California  
     against us owning land  
 we were trying to be American  
 and laws against us intermarrying with white people  
 we were trying to be American  
 when they put us in concentration camps

we were trying to be American  
 our people volunteered to fight against their own country  
 trying to be American  
 when they dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima and  
       Nagasaki  
 we were still trying.

finally we made it  
 most of our parents  
 fiercely dedicated to give us  
 a good education  
 to give us everything they never had  
 we made it  
 now they use us as an example  
 to the blacks and browns  
 how we made it  
 how we overcame.

but there was always  
 someone asking me  
 what are you?

now I answer  
 I'm an Asian  
 why do you want to separate yourselves  
 now I say  
 I'm Japanese  
 and they say  
 don't you know this is the greatest country in the  
       world  
 now I saw in America  
 I'm part of the third world people  
 and they say  
 if you don't like it here  
 why don't you go back.<sup>2</sup>

In the mainland United States there are constant re-  
 minders of this difference. The media is the most steady

---

<sup>2</sup>Joann Miyamoto. Roots: An Asian American Reader  
 ed. Odo, Tachiki, and Wong (Los Angeles: Continental Graphics,  
 1971), pp. 98-99.



reminder. In all of the television shows, commercials, newspapers, and magazines one is bombarded with white faces (and occasionally Black). There is no identifying base for the Japanese American, and consequently the white norm is constantly placed before him/her. This is the reason that there is a constant pressure on Sansei youth to conform to this white norm. In this author's high school days, most of his female peers used to scotch tape the small area above their eyelash to force their eyelids into doubling. The effect was to produce larger looking eyes which is naturally a Caucasian norm. Unfortunately, this was not a fad, but is still going on today. Many of the high school youth that this author counsels are doing the exact same thing.

It is for these reasons that Sansei find themselves caught in an identity crisis. The emotionalism of this internal conflict can best be described by documenting another poem by a Sansei young adult:

I hate my wife for her flat yellow face  
and her flat cucumber legs, but mostly  
for her lack of elegance and lack of  
intelligence compared to judith gluck.

I married my wife, daughter of a rich  
east los angeles banker, for money  
of course, I thought I deserved better, but  
suffering is something else altogether.

She married me for love but she can't love  
me, since no one who went to Fresno State  
knows anything about Warhol or Ginsberg or  
Viet Nam. She has no jewish friends.

She's like a stupid water buffalo from  
the old country, slowly plodding between  
muddy furrows, and that's all she knows of  
love beneath my curses and sometimes blows.

I thought I could love her at first, that she  
could teach me to be myself again, free  
from years of bopping round LA ghettos,  
western civilization and the playmate of the month

since she was raised a buddhist with all  
the arts of dancing, arranging and the  
serving of tea, and I thought I saw in my  
arrogance some long forgotten warrior prince.

But I wanted to be an anglican  
too much and listened too long to dylan  
or maybe it was the playmate of the  
month or poetry and judith gluck.

So I hate my gentle wife for her flat  
yellow face and her soft cucumber legs  
bearing the burden of the love she has  
borne for centuries, centuries before  
anglicans and dylans  
playmates and rock  
before  
me or judith gluck<sup>3</sup>

It is extremely interesting to notice how Westernized  
the images are. The author of this poem is reacting to these

---

<sup>3</sup>Ron Tanaka. "I hate my wife for her flat yellow face"  
in Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, Franklin Odo (eds.) Roots: An  
Asian American Reader. (Los Angeles: Continental Graphics, 1971),  
pp. 46-47.

American middle class values, and his lost Asian heritage. He realizes that he is a product of Western civilization; yet his features and heritage are traditionally Asian. He is caught, and from the tone of the poem, for him there is no escape.

Thus, there is very little doubt that among the three generations of Japanese Americans, the Sansei have the most problems with identity. Of course, the reaction has been varied as to how Sansei deal with this identity problem. A great many Sansei turn to reject their physical appearance and Japanese heritage. Their entire value system conforms to the white norm, and this leads to self-denial and self-rejection in terms of Asian identity. The term "banana" is used to describe these people. They are figuratively, "yellow on the outside, white on the inside."

It is extremely easy to see how this condition is brought on. Having parents who wanted to be so American, some Sansei have lost sight of any tradition and culture. They are living in white communities, going to white schools, seeing white faces in the media, etc., etc. It is plain to see why some Sansei become bananas.

Unfortunately, it is not a healthy psychological condition. Denial and rejection of one's physical appearance can create a condition of self hate. Poor self image and self esteem are characteristic of some Sansei youth. This author constantly comes across young Sansei who need counseling in the area of self concept. Most of them have a very poor image of themselves, and demonstrate a lack of self confidence in their daily lives.

Thus, many Japanese Americans are turning to assimilation not out of a healthy attitude, but one in which they are simply running away from their own differences and culture. This is ever so blatant in an article written by a Japanese American Sansei girl about white male qualities:

I intend to marry a white man.  
But what were my attitudes leading up to our decision to marry? My parents have tried to encourage me to marry an Oriental, but they also wanted me to marry a man of my own choosing. I have met many Oriental men, and they seem to lack many qualities that I would need in any man I would marry. My fiancée possesses all of these qualities and many more. It seems that they are all white stereotype qualities that are important to white middle and upper class members. His qualities: 1) tall, 2) handsome, 3) manly, 4) self confident, 5) well

poised, 6) protective, 7) domineering, 8) affectionate, and 9) imaginative. These are all Prince Charming characteristics that all white women instill in their daughters for the ideal male. My future husband seems to possess all of them, and he's also white.

It seems that Oriental girls who marry white men are looking for this stereotype and will not settle for the short, ugly, unconfident, clumsy, arrogant Oriental man that we are all plagued with.<sup>4</sup>

Anyone can see that this girl is running from her own racial qualities, and in a sense, running from herself. She is rejecting and denying her own physical characteristics. Unfortunately, she is typical of some Sansei who are turning to the white society out of self rejection and denial. It is a damaging psychological state, and one that is detrimental to their growth as human beings.

The other extreme to the banana position is the militant "yellow power" position. In this position, Sansei solve their identity crisis by turning to their lost Asian heritage. The "Hansen effect," namely, "what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember," plays an important part

---

<sup>4</sup>Name Withheld. "White Male Qualities" in *ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

in this position.<sup>5</sup> Here, there is a glorifying of one's roots, and a strong sense of pride in one's heritage. Coupled with this pride is a sense of suspicion directed toward white America. Militant Sansei see the racist qualities of white America, and they believe in revolutionary changes in that very system. Amy Uyematsu speaks of the identity crisis motivating the yellow power movement when she says:

The yellow power movement has been motivated largely by the problem of self identity in Asian Americans. The psychological focus of this movement is vital, for Asian Americans suffer the critical mental crises of having "integrated" into American society--

"No person can be healthy, complete, and mature if he must deny a part of himself; this is what 'integration' has required so far."  
--Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton

Precisely because Asian Americans have become economically secure, do they face serious identity problems. Fully committed to a system that subordinates them on the basis of non-whiteness, Asian Americans still try to gain complete acceptance by denying their yellowness. They have become white in every respect but color.

However, the subtle but prevailing racial prejudice that "yellows" experience restricts them

---

<sup>5</sup>Will Herberg. Protestant-Catholic-Jew. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1950), p. 30.

to the margins of the white world. Asian Americans have assumed white identities, that is, the values and attitudes of the majority of Americans. Now they are beginning to realize that this nation is "white democracy" and that yellow people have a mistaken identity.<sup>6</sup>

It should be readily apparent that these two positions are expressed out of the subjective experience of this author. For the sake of documented fact, let us turn to the research of a competent sociologist on this issue. Minako Maykovich provides a good conceptual framework for a typology of Sansei. She combines the two dimensions of attitude and behavior in the creation of this typology. Four types of Sansei are identified, and they are listed in the following table:

---

<sup>6</sup>Amy Uyematsu. "The Emergence of Yellow Power in America," in Tachiki, Wong and Odo, pp. 9-10.

TABLE 6  
Sansei Types<sup>7</sup>

		Ideology: Traditional Values	
		ACCEPTANCE	REJECTION
Action: Involvement in social issues	Y E S	Liberated	Militant Radical Revolutionary
	N O	Conformist Individual achiever Conforming activist	Anomic Anomic activist Alienated

---

<sup>7</sup> Minako Maykovich. Japanese American Identity Dilemma  
(Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 1972), p. 108.



The research design of her study had a number of sophisticated hypotheses, but for this paper's purpose her description of the four types is the most important. Before these types are explained, it might be important to explain some of her definitions in the area of identity. She uses the terms "diffuse" and "totalistic" from Erikson, and adapts these terms for her own study. She uses the concept of a totalistic identity to mean identification solely in terms of race. In this case, a Japanese American with a totalistic identity relates primarily to his racial sub group, or as she puts it, "to yellow brotherhood."<sup>8</sup> She uses the term diffuse identity to mean that a person derives his/her identity from various social groups. Here, the principle identification is not Japanese American, but a number of other social groups or relations.

Another concept that needs clarification is her use of the word, "traditional." In her study the acceptance versus rejection of traditional values consists of three areas. One is whether success is due to individual efforts (traditional value) or controlled by social forces. The second is whether minority members should attain a higher status by conformity to (traditional

---

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 113-114.

value) or secession in order to gain equality.<sup>9</sup>

From this conceptual framework, Maykovich defines the conformists as having a diffuse identity. They are not interested in social change. They come from a middle class background, and accept traditional values. They do not rate as high in self esteem as do the militant and liberated Sansei.

The liberated group also possesses a diffuse identity. She describes them further as, "actively involved in political issues but subscribing to the traditional values of diligence, conformity, and assimilationism."<sup>10</sup> They want social change, but they strive to bring it about working within the existing social structures of society. They are fairly self confident, and function well as leaders, although they do not rank higher than the militants on either of these two dimensions.

The militant group has a totalistic identity. They also want social change, but they are not satisfied in working within the system to attain it. They have the highest amount of self

---

<sup>9</sup>Stanley Sue and Harry Kitano. "Asian Americans: A Success Story?" Journal of Social Issues, XXIX (1973), 173.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

confidence, and view themselves as able and intelligent leaders.

The anomic Sansei also have a totalistic identity. They reject "traditional values, but are not involved in social action to improve the existing social system."<sup>11</sup> They have the lowest level of self esteem of the four groups. They rate themselves low in likableness, physical attractiveness, self confidence, and leadership, yet they value all these qualities, especially likableness.

Unfortunately, Maykovich does not give statistics as to the approximate percentages of Sansei who fit into each of these categories. This in itself would be an interesting study, and worthy of the time and effort one would have to put into it. Undoubtedly, geographic factors would play an important role in the number of Sansei in each group. Many of those in the metropolitan Los Angeles area might be liberated or militant Sansei, whereas those in a rural area like Fresno might tend to be conformist or anomic Sansei. Although actual statistics are not quoted, Maykovich comments that "although the majority

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

of them still seem to be conformists, there are others who are trying to bring forth evolutionary or revolutionary changes to the society."<sup>12</sup>

Even though there are no exact statistics on the types of Sansei living in America, some Sociologists gauge their assimilation based on the number of intermarriages taking place. Kikumura, Kitano and Tinker all conclude that the interracial marriage rate for the third generation is way up when compared to previous generations. Kikumura and Kitano ran a study of Sansei interracial marriages in Los Angeles County, and found that in 1971, 361 out of 772 marriage applications were interracial--a percentage of 47%. The following year (1972) between January and June, the interracial marriage rate rose to 49%. The implications of these figures becomes significant when compared to the 1950's rate of 20%.<sup>13</sup>

Statistics similar to Kikumura and Kitano come from John Tinker's study of Japanese American interracial marriage rates in Fresno county. The following table reflects the rising interracial marriage rate for Sansei.

---

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Akemi Kikumura, and Harry Kitano. "Interracial Marriage: A Picture of the Japanese Americans," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX, (1973), p. 68.

TABLE 7  
Japanese Inmarriages and Intermarriages  
in Fresno County<sup>14</sup>

Year	Nisei		Sansei	
	In Marriages	Inter Marriages	In Marriages	Inter Marriages
1958	27	5	0	1
1959	26	2	1	0
1960	19	2	1	1
1961	26	2	0	0
1962	18	2	0	1
1963	18	1	4	0
1964	15	2	1	8
1965	14	6	2	2
1966	10	1	4	7
1967	10	5	7	5
1968	12	4	8	8
1969	8	3	7	16
1970	12	5	9	15
1971	10	7	12	14

<sup>14</sup>John Tinker. "Intermarriage and Ethnic Boundaries: The Japanese American Case," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX, (1973), p. 33.

Kikumura and Kitano conclude their article with the obvious fact that Japanese Americans no longer marry within their own subgroup entirely. They then add a final word in the form of a hypothesis that the rate of interracial marriages will grow with successive generations, so that in "time there may no longer be a pure Japanese American group."<sup>15</sup>

Such a hypothesis can only be verified with time. Currently, the interracial marriage rate is holding steady at around 50%, and only time will tell whether it swings dramatically one way or the other. What is certain is that there will definitely be a unique sub-culture of Japanese Americans for the next few generations at least. As researchers Gene Levine and Darrel Montero conclude:

The majority of Sansei queried indicate an interest in Japanese ways while still embracing the primary goals of American society and its emphasis on socio-economic success in particular. Although the ban on outmarriage is breaking down, a majority of Sansei have married or intend to marry within the fold. While the Japanese Americans have successfully accommodated to the American situation--especially by correctly gauging the great importance of education, there is little evidence that the sub-culture will soon wither away.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Akemi Kikumura, and Harry Kitano. "Interracial Marriage: A Picture of the Japanese Americans," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX, (1973), p. 79.

<sup>16</sup>Gene Levine, and Darrel Montero. "Socio-economic Mobility Among Three Generations of Japanese Americans," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX, (1973), p. 33.

At present, the conclusion by Levine and Montero seems to be well supported. Many Sansei and Yonsei are resisting assimilation as defined by Gordon. In the major centers of Japanese concentration on the West Coast (e.g., Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, etc.), Japanese American youth organizations are alive and vibrant. There are many all Japanese American sports leagues and clubs--organized primarily by Nisei, but made up of Sansei and Yonsei participants. In some respects, the Sansei have acculturated more than the Nisei, but again many of them have not been assimilated. One can find evidence of this by merely visiting selected places in Los Angeles on any given weekend. The sports leagues are active the year around. The sports activity usually changes with the season (i.e., Football, Basketball, Volleyball and Baseball). Hundreds of Japanese American boys and girls play in all age brackets according to the sport in season. Every other week there is usually a tournament of some kind (basketball, volleyball, etc.) in which out of town Japanese teams compete against the locals. There is an all Japanese American dance going on just about every weekend in Los Angeles. Sometimes up to 700 Sansei and Yonsei youth jam dance halls to socialize. Besides dances there are all Japanese bowling leagues, foosball tournaments, and car rallies going on regularly.

It appears that no definite conclusions can be made as to what the Sansei and Yonsei of the future will be like. What can be concluded for sure, is the fact that the Sansei generation of today is going through change and transition. The Sansei are not reacting uniformly as a generation to their changing situation like the previous two generations. Returning again to Maykovich's study on the Sansei, she concludes that the Sansei as a group demonstrate much more heterogeneity when they are compared to the Nisei or Issei group. As she writes:

Parents and grandparents of contemporary Japanese American youth tended to share common values of diligence, conformity, and detachment from social issues. The Sansei no longer believe nor behave uniformly.<sup>17</sup>

Yet, despite their heterogeneity, they do share a common denominator in the opinion of Maykovich. As she concludes:

Yet, underlying all these heterogeneous Sansei behaviors is found their common search for a new ethnic identity.<sup>18</sup>

It is precisely at this very point that the Church can be most effective for the Sansei. As was laid down previously, the theological grounding of the paper is the formation of a "new person," and it points to the growth and development that liberation

---

<sup>17</sup>Minako Maykovich. "Political Activity of Japanese American Youth," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX, (1973), p. 173.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 183.



can bring. The common search for a new ethnic identity can be fulfilled in the "new person." The Nisei generation lacked the Pedagogy of the Oppressed; they fell into the trap of wanting to be the oppressors. In great measure they have succeeded in just that, but the militant and liberated Sansei want something more than just material success. They have seen that side of life, and with it has come the realization that there is a disproportionate balance in material goods existing in the world. The present world is comprised of a handful of oppressors who have everything, and the majority of the world that has nothing. It is precisely this balance that must be changed, and the church stands as the one true hope in the bringing about of this change.

As was concluded in the previous sections, the Issei and Nisei generation need the ethnic church for their full development. The position of this paper is that the Sansei generation needs the Japanese American Church as much as the previous two generations, if not more. The identity crisis is crucial for the third generation, and the church can play a major role in the resolving of this identity crisis. It is common knowledge that the Black movement of the 1960's started with the "Black is Beautiful" position. Black leaders found that they could free many of their people from their psychological hang-ups through a simple self love of their physical qualities. Third generation Japanese Americans that Maykovich classifies as Conformist and Anomic also

need this freedom of self love. The Japanese American Church is one of the most logical places where this need can be fulfilled. Self rejection and self denial are characteristic of many conforming and anomic Sansei, and the church can be the institution that can free them from this shame and self-hatred. At the heart of the gospel message is the call to free oneself to become. This freeing process can only come about with the true acceptance of oneself. Until Japanese Americans learn to love their unique physical qualities, they will remain in the state of self rejection. No one can follow the biblical message to love one's neighbors, unless one begins to love oneself.

As the Bible says: "And God made man in his own image . . . and it was very good." (Genesis 1:31). Japanese Americans have to start by loving their physical characteristics--of not rejecting them, but rejoicing in them. This author addressed this issue in a speech given to 250 Methodist Sansei youth:

You hear a lot of speakers tell you you have to accept yourself. But that's not true because you accept things like a blind eye, or a club foot. And I tell you--you shouldn't just accept yourself, you should love yourself. You've got to love your Asian eyes; you've got to love your Asian hair; you've got to love your Asian skin. You've got to love you!

That's the practical reality that we face. You can't love others unless you begin with yourself. That's one of the basic implications of Asian identity.

You can't run from your Asianness; it's a part of you, a fragment of your essence. Love yourself fully first, and then you can reach levels you never dreamed possible--levels that can take you to the very heights of your joy as human beings.<sup>19</sup>

This is one of the greatest things the Japanese American Church offers to the Sansei: the chance to identify with other Japanese Americans. The Church offers the position that it is good to love your physical self. The all-embracing message from the gospels to free oneself cuts to the heart of this issue. It is essential for a healthy psychological and religious outlooks.

Here, the leadership models of the Japanese American Church will play an important role. Sansei youth need bonafide Japanese American heros and leaders to identify with. These leaders can grow naturally from an ethnic based church. In the past five years this author has seen over a dozen Sansei youth develop into dynamic and powerful leaders, and they all were cultivated from the grass root Japanese American Church! The last Nisei Methodist Minister to be ordained in the mainland United States was over fifteen years ago. The first Sansei Methodist minister was ordained only two years ago! There has been a gap of about thirteen years in which the Japanese American

---

<sup>19</sup>Grant Hagiya, Speech given to Pacific and Northwest Conference Youth, Denver, Colorado, 1972.

Methodist Church has not produced one minister. Yet, in the last few years, there have been over a half-dozen young Sansei Methodists who have entered Seminary to become ministers. If the Japanese American Church is to survive, it will need this young and dynamic leadership. Therefore, every effort must be provided to cultivate this leadership.

Still, the crux of the issue is the transformation into the "new person." This must be the practical task of the church in reaching the third generation. If the Sansei are in the throws of an identity crisis, their pedagogy must not revolve around the oppressor's role. There must be a constant striving for neither "oppressor nor oppressed," but the formation of the "new person." Only then can they begin to live out the social ethics of the New Testament: feeding the hungry, liberating the oppressed, and uplifting the broken-hearted.

It becomes readily apparent that this goal of liberation is one that the Church shares with the militant and liberated Sansei. Most of the Sansei in these classification do not have strong ties with the church. However, our goals are basically the same. We are striving for the same ends. In this author's experience it becomes very easy for the militant to throw in with the Church. There have been many examples of Sansei militants joining with the church on a joint project that involves social action. In many

cases, these Sansei do not profess belief in the Christian religion, but they are willing to join forces with the church in striving to meet the desired aims. As Maykovich has stated, many of these militants are gifted and self confident leaders. Some of these militant leaders are operating on a high psychological plane. In Maslow's terms, they are self actualized individuals. Yet, it is the opinion of this author that some of these leaders could attain an even higher plane by incorporating the Christian perspective. In this regard, humanism (the philosophical mind-set that many of them operate out of) is not enough. True Christian liberation takes one to a higher plane of sophistication. Our visions of the Kingdom of God appear to be more complete when compared to the visions of humanists. Taking on the Christian perspective does not mean giving up of militant ideas--it merely means stepping up to a higher form of militancy. Thus, the church offers to the militant and liberated Sansei a more complete and effective identity.

It is with little embarrassment that this author confesses that he does not have a concrete strategy for transforming Sansei into the "new people" of the gospels. Right now, only the goal can be stated, and the task of reaching that goal will be left to him and other young ministers when they begin their mission in the local church. In lack of specifics, still the goal remains crystal clear. It is this goal that we must constantly strive for, and it appears to this author that the church is the one true hope in the implementation of it.

## CHAPTER 9

## PRACTICAL NEEDS

It is fairly certain that the Japanese American Christian Church will survive until at least the Nisei generation dies off. What happens beyond that point cannot be fully ascertained. As we have previously noted, the Issei generation needs the Japanese American Church, and will not forsake the boundaries of this ethnicity. The majority of Issei are in their seventies and eighties, and the church many times is the sole source of their social life. The Church is also their only spiritual center. In an existential sense, it provides strength and comfort for them. As they grow older and come closer to death, the church is there as their spiritual guide.

It is also certain that the majority of Christian Nisei will stay with the Japanese American Church. Since they are acculturated, but not assimilated, they will seek the ethnicity of their own people. The majority of Nisei feel more comfortable with other Japanese Americans, and the ethnic church serves this need well. It is also fairly certain that as the Nisei grow older, they, like their parents will need the Japanese American Church even more than they do now.

The question mark is of course, the Sansei and Yonsei. As the Sansei marry and have children will they continue to come to the Japanese American Church, and raise their children up in such a Church? There are absolutely no statistics or references in this area, and all conclusions have to be made tentatively and hypothetically. However, there are Sansei Church youth groups that are active and strong at the present date. If these Sansei retain their vigor and commitment to the Japanese American church then it will not only survive, it will prosper. Unfortunately, at present time no one can foresee the amount of participation that the Sansei will have in the ethnic church as they grow older.

What is certain is that the Japanese American Church will continue to exist for one more generation at least. What happens after that will be contingent on the changes that both the Sansei generation and the Church itself makes in the future. However, it is certain that the present Japanese American Church will serve some of the basic needs of the Japanese American people, and hence, continue to be a vibrant reality in their lives. This will be the focal point of this last chapter. Out of the historical groundwork and sociological conditions that were laid down earlier, this chapter will attempt to express the basic needs that the ethnic Church can meet for Japanese Americans. As a Japanese American pastor, this author will try to answer the question, "What

basic needs can I help meet by being the leader of the Japanese American church?" Perhaps a better way to phrase the question would be, "What basic needs must I be cognizant of in order to point the whole church in the direction of meeting those needs?"

With such an objective, the framework of this last chapter will be first to identify the basic need, and then to cite concrete means in which the need might be met.

(1) The Japanese American Church must meet the spiritual needs of each generation. In this regard, the situation reflects the problem of hermeneutics in our age. Here all biblical and theological studies must be relevant and understandable to the people we are ministering too. It is difficult to speak of the omnipotent God of tradition to highly educated Nisei and Sansei, but to the Issei, this is the God that meets their specific spiritual needs. The Issei Christians have been brought up on very fundamental Christian concepts, and to challenge such concepts would be to break down the metaphysical presuppositions that many of them have built their lives around. Yet, to the highly secular and technological Nisei and Sansei, such a conception of God might not meet their own specific spiritual needs. It is here that we need to introduce the modern theologies that can explain God in a scientific way. This author believes that Process Theology can be a logical alternative. This involves new symbols to talk about God in the



modern age. It seems likely that the Process Theology conception of God can be relevant to many Nisei and Sansei lay people. As highly secularized people this could be a logical bridge from secular to sacred.

However, the point must be emphasized that each one of the different Japanese American generations have specific theological needs, and these needs spring from the historical situation that they have come from. Thus, theology is always developed from the context of where they have been, and where they currently are. Only then can theology be truly relevant to any generation's unique situation.

(2) The Japanese American Church must meet an inter-generational need on the part of its people. Because each succeeding generation was faced with a different sociological context, there has been a tendency to become fragmented between different generations. This author feels this point very strongly in the case of his own family. My own grandparents did not speak English very well, and unfortunately, I never did pick up much Japanese. Therefore, we had a language barrier that was almost impossible to cross. By the time I realized the full implications of learning the language of my heritage, my grandparents had already passed on. When I was a young boy it was as though my grandparents were from a different world. Partly, it was due to the fact that they

were old, and the distorted American sociological sense of "Ageism" made me reject them as a vibrant part of my own life. Also, I was alienated from them by my own intra-racial sense of prejudice. They did not even speak "my" language (English), and as a youth struggling for my own sense of identity in America, I rejected things that were foreign. It was a costly lesson, and by the time I was in college and old enough to realize these things, it was almost too late. By the time I was old enough to realize how valuable my grandparents were to me, there was too little time to cultivate that relationship. It was a high price to pay, and to this very day I wish I had such wisdom when I was younger.

However, this is a lesson that could benefit others at the present time. There is an inherent value in integrating different generations into your life, and most Japanese Americans need to be enlightened in this area. The Church remains the one institution that is in touch with all the different generations. There must be an intentionality in the life of the church to address this inter-generational need. Specific programs or growth groups could be designed to meet this need. Inter-generational worship services, or service projects could be implemented to help foster generational relationships. The Japanese American Church is in a position to really do something to meet this need, and it remains a high priority for each individual church.

(3) The Japanese American Church must address the identity crisis that the third and fourth generations are struggling with. The Japanese American Church must help foster the internal liberation of those who are in need of it. Here, the spiritual growth dimension cannot be underplayed, but there is also the sociological and cultural identity that must be addressed. In this regard, the Japanese American Church must function as a transmitter and teacher of Japanese culture. In establishing an identity base, one must show the heritage and tradition from where one originated. This involves understanding and taking pride in the culture of one's ancestry. At the last Japanese Church that this author served, Japanese calligraphy, flower arranging, and martial arts classes were offered to the congregation. The classes were usually well attended, and it provided an excellent means of exposing people to, and passing on cultural traditions. Some of the church's Sansei youth were taking the classes, and they were beginning to understand and appreciate the culture that they are a part of. Without the church they would never have been exposed to this culture.

Along these same lines, identity problems belong to the realm of the psychological, and it is here that Japanese Americans have a vital need. The area of mental health is a sorely ignored one in the Japanese American community. The Japanese have

always had a stigma against mental illness. When two prospective Issei families were to be connected by marriage, there most likely would be a check into the past history of each family to see that there was no incident of mental illness. This negative stigma of mental health has carried over to succeeding generations, and is just beginning to be broken down. Because of the unique psychological make-up of Japanese Americans, they need specialized counseling and referral services. The Japanese American pastor needs to be trained in general counseling skills, but also needs to understand the unique psychological make-up of his own people. Since Japanese Americans are very reluctant to go to professional psychologists and psychiatrists, Japanese American pastors are many times their only link in the area of mental health. Japanese American pastors must be ready and able to meet this vital need. There must be a re-education on the part of Japanese American lay people on the stigmas against mental health. Japanese American pastors can recruit psychologists, and social workers from their own congregations to help educate, and provide actual counseling services to the congregation at large.

(4) The Japanese American Church must cultivate its leaders. As already mentioned, there has been a gap of about thirteen years in which the Japanese American Mainland Methodist Church has not produced one ordained minister. However, in the

last five years the Methodist Church has ordained a total of four mainland Sansei ministers, and there are currently five mainland Methodist seminary students. In the opinion of this author, the ongoing and vibrant Sansei church youth programs are one of the prime reasons for the influx of new Sansei ministers. There is a definite trend on the part of some Sansei youth to see the importance of the ministry as a profession. This remains a crucial issue, for without Sansei leadership the Sansei generation itself will see no need for the Japanese American Church. Without this Sansei audience, the ultimate result will be the death of the Japanese American Church with the passing of the Nisei generation.

However, intimately tied to this issue of Sansei leaders is the fact that there must be vibrant Sansei church youth programs going on, which will provide the milieu in which such leaders will emerge. Here, the Japanese American Church must put out an "all out effort" in the development of its youth programs. There are very few Japanese American Churches that do anything more than talk about how much they need to develop their youth programs. For being such an immense priority, the youth are one of the most neglected groups in the entire Japanese American Church. If the Japanese American Church is to survive then it must do a lot more than talk about it. The Church must devote its leadership, time, effort, and finances if it is to have a successful youth

program. The development of Sansei youth programs becomes more than just an important issue--it is the key to whether the Japanese American Church survives as an institution or not.

(5) The Japanese American Church must create and implement a relevant evangelistic strategy for other Japanese Americans. Only a small percentage of the total Japanese American population in this country are affiliated with the Christian Church. The vast majority of Japanese Americans do not have any religious affiliations. It is vital for the Japanese American Church to come up with a dynamic and ongoing methodology for evangelism. If we can convert half of the Japanese American population in this country then our churches will be booming. Surely, this area of evangelism is of prime importance.

One evangelistic and outreach model calls for the meeting of specific geographic areas in a series of "home meetings." Once a month, a congregation member opens up his/her home to all of the families in the immediate area. It is a good way of cultivating the fellowship of congregation members, as well as providing outreach to those families who might be interested in joining a church. A series of "team captains" could be in charge of specific geographic areas, and when a new family moves in, they could invite them to the relaxed atmosphere of a home meeting. A well trained team captain could also be in charge of the care and concern of

his/her area. This involves the lay people getting in touch with the real task of the Christian Church. The mis-conception of many Japanese Americans is that the minister is the "one man band" of the entire church. They believe that it is his or her job to take care of the entire church, and as lay people they are the ones to be ministered to. Here, the consciousness of the Japanese Americans must be raised. The minister and leaders of the church must teach all the lay people that they themselves are ultimately responsible for the church life. A new model of the Japanese American Church must emphasize that the lay people of the church realize their potential as healers, carers, prophets, and leaders of the Christian Church. As Howard Clinebell says: "The minister is not the one man band, but rather the orchestra conductor who brings out the music in all the people."<sup>1</sup>

It occurs to this author that one future model for the Japanese American Christian Church can relate to the last six needs mentioned. Such a model involves the cooperative team leadership of specialized ministers. At present time, there exist many small Japanese American Churches in a general geographic vicinity. For example, in the East Bay Area there are three independent Japanese American United Methodist Churches within a ten mile radius of each

---

<sup>1</sup>Howard J. Clinebell, Jr. Personal Communications, March, 1977.

other (e.g., Lake Park United Methodist, Buena Vista United Methodist, and Berkeley United Methodist). A well diversified team of ministers could be in charge of a circuit of churches such as these. Each minister would then take the main lead in his/her speciality (e.g., Administration, Education, Pastoral Counseling, etc.). It would be a logical way for ministers to best utilize their natural strengths, and one could foresee the development of dynamic programs of parish ministry.

However, such a team ministry does not involve extreme specialization. In a true "team" situation there is ample opportunity to work on one's weaknesses, and with such a team ministry one could gain insights and skills from another minister who has more training in that one area.

It is also true that an ethnic based church has more areas of specialization. For example, the Issei generation speaks only Japanese, and they require a Japanese language minister who can relate to the special needs of the elderly. Likewise, the Nisei and Sansei need ministers who understand their specific psychology and cultural backgrounds.

Still another growing specialization for the Japanese American Church is the great influx of Newcomers from Japan. The Rev. Jonathan Fujita of Centenary United Methodist Church in



Los Angeles estimates that there are over 50,000 newcomers in central Los Angeles alone.<sup>2</sup> Many of these newcomers could benefit from the fellowship, community, spiritual and social dimensions of the church. There is a definite ministry for the newcomers from Japan, and the church must meet this need.

All of this points to the fact that the concept of a specialized team ministry is an extremely exciting one, and it needs to be explored in depth.

Still another model involves a team ministry that has a more "Asian-American" perspective. In this sense, Japanese Americans comprise only one sub-group of Asian Americans, and there are many Korean, Chinese, Formosan, Filipino, and Pacific Island congregations in the United States. We as Japanese Americans must reach out to our fellow Asian Americans, for despite our many differences, we do share some common experiences and problems. Just as there is specialized generational ministry in the Japanese American Church, so too could there be specialized Asian American congregational ministry going on in one Church. It is feasible that there could be a cooperative ministry among any number of sub-groups.

---

<sup>2</sup>Jonathan Fujita., Personal Communications, June, 1977.

Of course, there would be many obstacles and problems to be overcome in such a situation, but the future appears to look very positive. Inter-ethnic prejudice appears to be slowly breaking down for Asian Americans. For example, annually, the United Methodist Church sponsors an Asian American Summer Camp where over two hundred Asian American youth come together for a week of camping experience. Over a week's time many doors are open as youth from different Asian American sub-groups exchange cultural ideas and backgrounds. As Director of this camp for the last three years, this author has seen a tremendous cooperation among Asian American youth--a cooperation that has been sometimes lacking in their parents. With such an open attitude among Asian American youth, the possibilities of cooperative Asian American ministry becomes more and more feasible. Needless to say, the future looks extremely bright in this area.

Finally, the Japanese American Church must educate and enlighten its people in the area of social ethics. The Church must illuminate that Japanese Americans can either be a part of the solution or a part of the problem of the injustice of society. Being the most highly educated, and financially well off minority in the United States, it is easy for Japanese Americans to turn to the framework of being instruments of oppression. This is exactly what Daniel Okimoto was speaking of in the quotation cited earlier.

If Japanese Americans sit on their success, and say to other minorities: "We've made it, why can't you," then they are being the mouth pieces of the white power structure and playing directly into their hands. Japanese Americans thus become pawns in the game of pitting one minority group against another.

It is here that Japanese Americans must realize that they themselves are oppressed. Statistically, they are the most highly educated group in America, and yet they are below the white in median income. According to Daniels and Kitano:

For every \$51 received by a White Californian, Japanese get \$43 and Chinese \$38. If we look at the well off, the imbalance is even greater. A whiteman's chances of achieving an annual income of \$10,000 or more are 78% better than those of a Chinese, and 57% better than those of a Japanese.<sup>3</sup>

Only in seeing that they are oppressed in society, will they begin to identify more with those that are more oppressed. Then, and only then will they begin to live out the true social ethics of the New Testament.

Japanese Americans have worked hard for their success, but they cannot afford to sit back and become part of the problem. With the impressive credentials that the Japanese Americans have

---

<sup>3</sup>Roger Daniels, and Harry Kitano. American Racism (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 80.

amassed (in education, business, etc.) they should be one of the minority group leaders in the fight against oppression. Instead, they are now being used as instruments of that oppression.

It appears to this author that only the Church has the ability to appeal to the conscience of Japanese Americans in this area. If God's lures are to have people follow the New Testament ethics, then the Church has to be the provider of those lures. No integrated or white church can do this job for the Japanese Americans--only an ethnic based church can accomplish this task. For the Japanese Americans must be dealt with at the stage they are now in. As a whole, Japanese Americans need a consciousness raising experience. A strategy of confrontation and Christian love must be implemented to foster their growth as human being. The Japanese American Church must facilitate the true Christian growth of its members. There must be a steady guidance toward the creation of the "new person." Japanese Americans must go beyond the "oppressor-oppressed" framework, and develop what is to be the "new person in Christ." This involves the shedding of all the negative problems that may plague Japanese Americans. Problems of inferiority and alienation must be dealt with by the Japanese American Church. Japanese Americans are in a definite stage of their development, and they need this time to work through this

stage. The Japanese American Church provides the means by which much of this stage can be worked through.

The total liberation model becomes imperative for the Japanese American Church. There must be an emphasis on the further development and liberation of Japanese Americans as a people. This is the reason that a liberating pedagogy must be created and implemented in the local parish. Japanese American ministers and leaders must be able to transmit this pedagogy to the people. Time is of the essence. We need to captivate the Sansei audience, and begin the liberating pedagogy as soon as possible. It is clear that this author's biases show in the area of capturing the Sansei as a group. This is not to downplay the importance of the other generations and their needs, but rather to point to the future. Without the Sansei and Yonsei groups there will be no Japanese American Church in the future. This remains one of our highest priorities, and it will only be realized with vision, optimism, critical reflection, and a lot of hard work. Ultimately, these are the basic ingredients that will usher in the "new person," and they remain the true hope of the Japanese American Christian Church.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akagi, Roy. The Second Generation Problem. New York: Japanese Students' Christian Association in North America, 1926.
- Akamatsu, Paul. Meiji 1868. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Alves, Ruben. A Theology of Human Hope. St. Meinrad: Abbey Press, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tomorrow's Child. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Bailey, Paul. Concentration Camps USA. New York: Tower, 1967.
- Beasley, William. The Meiji Restoration. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Modern History of Japan. New York: Praeger, 1963.
- Benedict, Ruth. The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946.
- Best, Ernest. Christian Faith and Cultural Crisis, The Japanese Case. Leiden: Brill, 1966.
- Blauner, Robert. Racial Oppression in America. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Bloom, Leonard. Marriages of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles County. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945.
- Bosworth, Allan R. America's Concentration Camps. New York: Norton, 1967.
- "California Farmers Cooperative Association," San Francisco: The Association, 1920.
- Chuman, Frank. The Bamboo People. Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1976.

Craig, Albert. Personality in Japan's History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

Cross, Jennifer. Justice Denied. New York: Firebird, 1972.

Daniels, Roger. The Politics of Prejudice. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962. New York: Atheneum, 1973.

\_\_\_\_\_, and Harry Kitano. American Racism. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

deBary, William T. (ed.) Sources of Japanese Traditions. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

"Ethnic Minorities in the United Methodist Church." Nashville: Discipleship Resources, 1976.

Frakes, George, and Solberg, Curtis. Minorities in Los Angeles History. New York: Random House, 1971.

Freire, Paulo. Education for Critical Consciousness. New York: Seabury Press, 1973.

\_\_\_\_\_. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Seabury Press, 1974.

Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Gulick, Sidney. The American-Japanese Problem. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1914.

Gutierrez, Gustavo. A Theology of Liberation. New York: Orbis, 1973.

Herberg, Will. Protestant-Catholic--Jews. Garden City: Doubleday, 1956.

Hosokawa, Bill. Nisei: The Quiet Americans. New York: Morrow, 1969.



The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. 4 vol. Nashville:  
Abingdon Press, 1962.

Ishikawa, M. "The Japanese Immigrants in California." Unpublished article, 1927.

Johnson, Herbert. Discrimination Against Japanese in California. Berkeley: Courier, 1907.

Kelsey, Carl (ed.) American Academy of Political and Social Science. Philadelphia: 1921.

Kishimoto, Hideo. Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era. Tokyo: Obunsha Press, 1956.

Kitagawa, Daisuke. Issei and Nisei, the Internment Years. New York: Seabury Press, 1967.

Kitano, Harry. Japanese Americans. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Koga, Sumio. A Centennial Legacy. \_\_\_\_ vols. Chicago: Nobart, 1977. (In progress)

Lancaster, Clay. Japanese Influence in America. New York: Rawls, 1963.

Latourette, Kenneth. The History of Japan. New York: Macmillan, 1947.

Livingston, Jon. Imperial Japan 1800-1945. New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Loo, Dennis. "Why an Asian American Theology of Liberation?" Unpublished paper.

Maykovich, Minako. Japanese American Identity Dilemma. Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 1972.

- McLaren, Walter. A Political History of Japan During the Meiji Era 1867-1912. London: Allen & Unwin, 1916.
- McClatchy, Valentine. "Japan's Peaceful Penetration." Sacramento Bee (June 1919).
- McWilliams, Carey. Prejudice--Japanese Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance. Boston: Little Brown, 1944.
- Mears, Eliot. Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.
- Melendy, Brett. The Oriental Americans. New York: Twayne, 1972.
- "Methodist Episcopal Church Pacific Japanese Mission," Official Journal of the First Annual Pacific Japanese Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1900.
- Meyer, Dillon. Uprooted Americans: The Japanese American and the War Relocation. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971.
- Meyer, Milton W. Japan: A Concise History. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1966.
- Nagano, Paul. Amerasian Experience and Christianity the Japanese Experience. prepared for workshop for Amerasian churches, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Search for Identity" Unpublished paper.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Why the Ethnic Church?" Unpublished paper.
- Naka, Kaizo. Social and Economic Conditions of Japanese Farmers in California. Berkeley: R & R Research, 1974.
- Nish, Ian. A Short History of Japan. New York: Praeger, 1968.
- Norman, Herbert. Origins of the Modern Japan State. New York: Pantheon, 1975.

Okimoto, Daniel. American in Disguise. New York: Walker/Weatherhill, 1970.

Olmsted, Roger (ed.) "Neither Separate Nor Equal," California Historical Quarterly (September 1971).

Park, Philip Kyung Sik. "Asian Christians and the Bicentennial." Paper written for the Associate for Asian Church Development; The Program Agency; the United Presbyterian Church.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Tyranny of the Past and the Challenge of the Future." Unpublished article written for the United Presbyterian Church.

Penrose, Eldon. California Nativism. San Francisco: R & R Research, 1973.

Peterson, William. Japanese Americans. New York: Random House, 1971.

Pyle, Kenneth. The New Generation in Meiji Japan. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969.

Inter-Ethnic Task Force, Board of Global Ministries the UMC. 'The Racial and Ethnic Minority Persons in Missions,' Atlantic City, 1975.

Reishauer, Edwin. Japan: Past & Present. New York: Knopf, 1964.

\_\_\_\_\_. Japan: The Story of a Nation. New York: Knopf, 1974.

Sano, Roy I. "Asian American Experiences on the Mainland Christian Responses in Action/Reflection." Paper presented at the Education for Mission Conference, Kaneohe, Oahu, 1975.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Neo-Orthodoxy and Ethnic Liberation Theology," Christianity and Crisis, xxxv, #18 (November 10, 1975).

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Church: One Holy Catholic and Apostolic." Paper presented at the National Consultation of Japanese Work of the United Methodist Church, San Francisco, February 3-4, 1969.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Colorful Liberators," Speech given at Earl Lectures and Pastoral Conference Seminar, Berkeley, February 28, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Contribution of Ethnic Theologies to Old Testament Studies," Lecture given at Society of Biblical Literature. Pacific Coast Section, April 6, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Integration: Another Look-See," Address at First Methodist Church of Loomis, Loomis, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Liberating and Unmeltable White Ethnicity," Speech at Earl Lectures, Berkeley, February 27, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ministry for Liberating Ethnicity," paper for Consultation on Ethnic Minority Ministries UMC, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Problems and Potentialities of Asian American Churches," Speech given at Earl Lectures, Berkeley, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Stranger Within the Gates," Christian Century, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Towards a Liberating Ethnicity," Speech at Earl Lectures, Berkeley, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. You Can Be Set Free. Nashville: Graded Press, 1977.
- Scheiner, Irwin. Christian Converts & Social Protest in Meiji Japan. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Modern Japan. New York: Macmillan, 1974.
- Scherer, James: The Japanese Crisis. New York: Stokes, 1916.
- Shibutani, Tamotsu, and Kwan, Kian. Ethnic Stratification. New York: Macmillan, 1965.
- Shinto, William. "The Ethnic Church on the Edge, The End or the Edge of Life." Unpublished paper.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Role of Religion in Asian American Communities."  
Unpublished paper.

Strong, Edward. Japanese in California. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1933.

"A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census Vol. II: Asian-Americans." HEW Publication No. (OS) 75-121.

Sue, Stanley, and Kitano, Harry. "Asian Americans: A Success Story," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX (1973).

\_\_\_\_\_, and Wagner, Nathaniel (ed.) Asian-Americans: Psychological Perspectives. Palo Alto: Science & Behavior Books, 1973.

Tachiki, Amy; Wong, Eddie; and Odo, Franklin, (eds.) "Roots: An Asian American Reader," Los Angeles Continental Graphics, 1971.

ten Broek, Jacobus; Barnhart, Edward N.; and Matson, Floyd. Prejudice, War and the Constitution. Causes and Consequences of the Evacuation of the Japanese Americans in World War II. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Tiedemann, Arthur. Modern Japan: A Brief History. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1955.

Wand, David Hsin-Fu (ed) Asian American Heritage. New York: Washington Square Press, 1974.

Yoshida, Shigeru. Japan's Decisive Century 1867-1967. New York: Praeger, 1967.

## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX\*

- 1874 Three young Japanese men, Nishimaki, Koyano and accidentally at an American Congregational Church in San Francisco.
- 1876 Mrs. Wilson, a member of that church, started a Bible class and taught English to Japanese students at 916 Washington, San Francisco.
- 1877 Kanichi Miyama and Kumataro (Nonaka) were baptized by the Rev. Gibson, and later Koyano, Nishimaki, Ninomiya, Hayashi, Naka and Yoshida were baptized also.
- 1880 The Congragational Methodist and Presbyterian denomination began mission services for immigrants from Japan.
- 1881 The Gospel Fellowship Circle split with Kanichi Miyama, chosen as the new chairperson.
- Those who left the Gospel Fellowship Circle formed a new group called "Tyler Gospel Association" and got help from the Presbyterian Church.
- 1884 The first Gospel Fellowship Circle (Oakland branch) forerunner of the Oakland Japanese Methodist Church was established in Oakland.
- 1885 The Presbyterian Church (American) recommended to organize a Japanese church. (Origin of the North American Japanese Church.)

---

\*Sumio Koba, ed. A Centennial Legacy (Chicago, Ill., Nobart, Inc., 1977), pp. 9-23.

- 1886 The Methodist Superintendent, The Rev. Harris, came back from Japan and gave guidance to the Gospel Fellowship Circle.

The Methodist Church California Annual Conference gave the Gospel Fellowship Circle mission status at their request.

- 1887 Kanichi Miyama was sent to Hawaii for evangelism work. After three months in Hawaii, he returned to America, then returned again to Hawaii accompanied by Takeshi Ugai and Masanosuke Mitani.

Twelve persons, including the Japanese Consul and Mrs. Ando, were baptized as a result of this evangelism work.

- 1889 A great revival movement conducted by the San Francisco Japanese Methodist Church spread to many places along the Pacific coast, thus laying the foundation for the Methodist Church.

Dr. E. A. Sturge left for Germany to study.

- 1890 The Methodist Mission developed into a church organization with Teikichi Matsuda, Hyutaro Abiko and three other persons serving on the committee to prepare for this need.

- 1891 Dr. Sturge returned from Germany, gave lectures on Bible study, taught English and led the youth group.

- 1892 The American Presbyterian Church bought a house on Mission Street in San Francisco and strengthened evangelism among the Japanese.

The San Francisco Episcopal Church bought land on Pine Street in San Francisco.

Bishop Harris started Methodist Churches in San Jose, Sacramento and Portland.



- 1893      The Methodist Episcopal Church started a monthly publication, "Glad Tiding."
- 1894      The Methodist Episcopal Mission had a consecration ceremony for the church building.
- The Presbyterian Mission opened its service on Prospect Place in San Francisco.
- 1895      St. Paul Episcopal Church started evangelism in San Francisco.
- Southern Methodist Church started mission work for Japanese in Alameda.
- The Methodist Episcopal Church started churches in Los Angeles and Riverside.
- 1898      Mission work was started by the Presbyterian Board in Salinas and Watsonville. Bishop Harris and Dr. Sturge agreed this area would be administered by the Presbyterian Board.
- The Methodist Mission work was extended to Sacramento, Vacaville and Fresno.
- 1899      The Congregational Church, under the supervision of the Rev. Pond, started Japanese mission work in San Francisco.
- Seimatsu Kimura, inspired and moved by Dwight L. Moody, started a "mass evangelism" approach in San Francisco.
- In Seattle, a Baptist Church was started. (Okazaki)
- 1903      The Presbyterian Board began mission work in Oakland (Hisakichi Terasawa). The ministers of this denomination met in Salinas, and this was the beginning of the Japanese Presbyterian Annual Conference.

- 1905 To clean up moral corruption and evil in the Fresno Japanese Community, Christians sponsored mass gatherings twice for "Campaign Against Moral Corruption."

A movement of moral reform for the Japanese was started under the leadership of Honda and Kosaki, then visiting the U.S., and Mrs. Okubo.

- 1906 The San Francisco Japanese Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist and St. Paul's Episcopal Churches were destroyed by the earthquake and fire. Many Christian churches extended help to the suffering Japanese quake victims.

- 1907 The Oakland Congregational Church, under the guidance of the Rev. Shinjiro Okubo, became a self-supporting, independent church.

- 1908 Keiki Miyakawa and Danjo Ebina came to the United States to evangelize and uplift the morale of the Japanese community disheartened by a series of anti-Japanese incidents.

The Presbyterian publication "Independence," the Congregational publication "Independent Ministry" and the Southern Methodist together issued the "Independence."

The Methodist publications "Friendship" and "Paradise" merged to be published as "Gospel."

A Presbyterian church was started in Stockton.

The San Francisco Methodist Episcopal church was rebuilt.

Fresno Congregational Church completed its building. The first Congregational Annual Conference was held.

1909 The Disciples of Christ Church began its mission work in North America with Teizo Kawai in charge. This was the start of the present West Adams Church in Los Angeles.

1910 The Northern California Christian Federation was organized, forerunner of the present Northern California Church Federation.

The "New Land" was published.

The Southern California Church Federation was organized.

Japanese ministers serving the United States now totaled 48.

1911 The Northern California Church Federation changed its name to the Northern California Evangelical Federation with Zenro Hirota as president. The Rev. Shinjiro Okubo was appointed as traveling mission minister.

#### California statistics:

Total Japanese Population . . .	54,980
Total number of Christians . . .	2,618
Church . . . . .	32
House churches . . . . .	6
Ministers and evangelists . . .	31

Masahisa Uyemura preached in the Northern California coastal cities.

1912 Japanese Y. M. C. A. work began in Southern California.

1913 Northern and Southern Christian organizations jointly formed the Central Evangelical Federation and began a community education campaign.

- 1914 Dr. Sturge's life time proposal and recommendation was realized with the uniting of the San Francisco Presbyterian and the Congregational Churches, and the San Francisco Japanese Church was organized.

In Southern California, Congregational and Friends merged to form the Pasadena Union Church.

- 1915 The Southern California Laymen's Federation was organized, with Shosuke Nitta as president. A campaign against gambling was instituted and street evangelism was conducted.

Taking advantage of the World's Fair in San Francisco, an Evangelical Group guided by Seimatsu Kimura, Teichi Hori, Tsurin Kanamori and Masasuke Kobayashi, launched great evangelism work.

Japanese Christians in the United States resolved to present to the Japanese Emperor a specially bound Holy Bible and in August conducted a dedication service in the San Francisco City Auditorium. In October Dr. Sturge was sent to present the Bible to the Emperor through the Ministry of the Imperial Household.

- 1916 The Haight Youth House in San Francisco was closed. Religious enthusiasm declined because of World War I.

Loomis and Florin Methodist Churches was started.

- 1917 Colonel Gumpei Yamamuro, a Salvation Army officer of Japan, conducted evangelism work in California.

Livingston Methodist Church conducted a building dedication ceremony.

When a Japanese Naval Training Ship came to San Francisco, the San Francisco Christian Federation Women's Auxiliary presented "Persuasion to Christian Faith" and "People's Gospel" to officers and cadets of the ship.

- 1918      The San Francisco Reformed Church and the Oakland Methodist Church opened "temporary hospitals" with nurses and volunteer workers to aid the Spanish Flu patients.

In San Francisco both Sturge Hall and the Sutter Street Y. M. C. A. were opened.

Christian Laymen's Federation was organized in Orange County.

- 1919      Captain Masasuke Kobayashi organized the Japanese Salvation Army in America.

- 1920      The Northern California Church Federation launched a revival movement to comfort the people.

Sadakichi Takekane, one of the leaders of the "Campaign against Gambling" was assassinated.

Jingoro Kokubun organized an independent Christian Church in Calexico.

An Oriental Missionary Society was organized for Japanese evangelism under the leadership of Sadaichi Kuzuhara.

Southern California Evangelism League opened the first summer school in White Point.

Teikichi Kawabe made a West Coast evangelism tour which received great response.

- 1922      Masahisa Uyemura came to visit the United States with Dr. Oltman, president of Meiji Gakuin.

- 1923      To uplift Japanese spirit and morale, the Japanese Christian churches invited Kaku Imai from Japan to preach and evangelize.

- 1924      Enactment of the Anti-Japanese Alien Law brought great unrest amongst the Japanese. The Pacific Coast Christian churches sent delegates to a conference in San Francisco to cope with current anti-Japanese problems.

The Northern California Church Federation was organized.

The Southern California Christian Church sponsored summer school at the Japanese Baptist Church in San Pedro.

Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa preached in many places. He also organized the Friends of Jesus in Southern California.

- 1925      Teikichi Sato and Tsurin Kanamori conducted evangelism.

- 1926      The Northern California Church Federation sponsored summer school in Monterey.

Northern California Young People's Christian Conference was held in Berkeley with 208 persons attending.

Lt. Gen. Gumpei Yamamuro (Salvation Army) preached in the United States.

- 1928      In the name of Japanese Christians in America, a specially bound Holy Bible in Japanese was presented to the Japanese Emperor upon his coronation by the Seattle Church Federation, the Northern California Church Federation and the Southern California Evangelical Federation.

World Sunday School Convention was held in Los Angeles. Many delegates from Japan were warmly welcomed at various places.

- 1929      The Northern California Church Federation initiated collecting monetary contributions for Kansai earthquake victims.

The Seattle Japanese Church Federation was organized.

In observing the 50th Anniversary of Japanese mission work in America, Anniversary Observance Evangelism for the nation was started at San Francisco, where the first mission work originated.

The 50th Anniversary celebration banquet was held at the Hotel Cliff in San Francisco with delegates from throughout the country in attendance.

- 1930      Realizing the importance of Christian education for the young Nisei, the Japanese Christian churches began building new education halls or expanding church buildings.

- 1931      Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, Bishop Akazawa and Kunio Kodaira made a preaching tour in the United States. The Kagawa Spiritual Movement, especially, brought great awakening to Northern and Southern California Christian circles.

In response to Kagawa's proposal to establish "cooperative funds association and Gospel School as a theme for his Kingdom of God Movement," the "Kingdom of God Movement" was organized and launches in Southern California.

The first Gospel School was held at Christ Church, Los Angeles, from October 19-November 6, meeting three nights a week.

- 1932      A joint Issei-Nisei Round Table Discussion was held at the Watsonville Church. Both exchanged honest views in an attempt to resolve Issei-Nisei problems arising between the two groups.

1932 (con't)

In Southern California twenty-seven ministers divided into nine groups for mission work as "Kingdom of God Evangelism Corps."

The Southern California Church Federation bought property for use as retreats. A "Kingdom of God Retreat" was held in the Pacific Palisades.

A historical book of the 50th Anniversary of Japanese mission work in America was published.

Japanese churches began sending "Soldiers' Comfort Bags" to soldiers in Manchuria.

The revised edition of Japanese hymnal books were being used widely in the churches.

1933     The Japanese Christian circle in America expressing its concern as Christians over the Manchuria situation issued a declaration to cope with the current situation in the name of the General Assembly of the Northern California Church Federation.

1934     Takeo Iwahashi conducted a successful evangelism program throughout the Pacific Coast.

Northern California Church Federation's organ book "The Light of Northern California" was published.

1935     Japanese Christians in America showed their concerns over the militaristic movement in Japan.

The Northern California League issued a Declaration of Current Situations in both Japanese and English.

Nisei ministers Masaichi Goto, Kenjiro Tsukamoto, Shigeo Tanabe and Junichi Fujimori began ministries in America.



1935 (con't)

Sadakichi Sato, Tetsuji Tsuchiyama and Toru Ebizawa came to the United States to evangelize.

1936 Masaki Nakayama and Toyohiko Kagawa conducted evangelism here.

A new Y. M. C. A. building was completed in San Francisco.

Ground breaking for remodeling the San Francisco Japanese Salvation Army building was held.

A Northern California Church Directory was issued.

1937 Kiyomatsu Kimura launched an evangelism program.

1939 The 60th Anniversary of Japanese mission work in America was observed.

In Southern California in observance of the 60th Anniversary, a Japanese Christian Convocation, an anniversary banquet, a worship service and a youth rally were held.

1940 Southern California Young Christians were invited to a Round Table Discussion with 200 in attendance.

A city-wide worship service was held to commemorate the 2600th Anniversary of the founding of Japan.

A comforting visitation was extended to the victims of the Imperial Valley earthquake.

The Southern California Church Federation sponsored a Southern California Youth Christian Convocation at the Pasadena Presbyterian Church (America).

An association supporting the Koyama Children's Hospital was organized.

- 1941      The Southern California Church Federation established an emergency committee as foreign relations between Japan and the United States became strained.

National Preaching Mission was launched.

In an effort to improve relations, between Japan and the United States, Toyohiko Kagawa, Yoshimune Abe, Michio Yamasaki, Soichi Saito, Tsunejiro Matsuyama and Michi Kawai came from Japan as the people's representatives for a preaching tour.

In Southern California Christian ministers held an emergency ministerial meeting and distributed a Position Statement requesting Japanese churches to cope with the war situation properly.

- 1942      In the Assembly Centers and camps temporary inter-denominational churches were organized to implement Sunday School, worship service, Bible study, prayer meetings, etc.

The Southern California Church Federation held its 51st Annual Session amidst tension of the war.

- 1943      Upon proposal made by key American denominational leaders who previously had associated with the Japanese, an all Japanese Christian Conference was held, with ministers from various Relocation Centers participating.

There were sharp differences of opinion concerning the problems and operation of the churches during the post-war period. Some favored closing the churches or merging with the American churches while others favored continuation of churches as was done before the war.

- 1944      Christian churches in the Relocation Centers continued mission work and made great progress.

1945 As the number of Japanese returning to California increased, the Christian churches began a hostel service for the returnees and moved toward the reopening and building of churches.

In Southern California, the Evergreen Fellowship House in Los Angeles became the central organization for returning Japanese. A meeting was held there for the returning Japanese.

1946 The period of reconstruction;

1949

Dr. Eiji Kawamorita took the leadership of Northern California Christian Church Federation with the Rev. Masamoto Nishimura as Secretary and Mr. Yanagizawa as treasurer; rescue and relief work to Japan initiated.

1950 In California and Pacific Northwest Federations of Christian Churches were reorganized and helped resettle Japanese communities. A massive relief effort for war-torn Japan was also mobilized.

1951 In California the Christian Churches successfully  
1955 spearheaded movements aimed at:

- 1) Increasing job opportunities for Issei and Nisei adults with the official cooperation of local city and county governments.
- 2) Gaining citizenship for Issei and reestablishing constitutional rights of Nisei citizens.
- 3) Revitalizing the life and work of local Christian churches through the efforts of Japanese evangelists.
- 4) Fully recognized Nisei ministerial and lay leadership in Japanese church communities. Many Nisei church men were elevated to leadership positions within their denominations.

1951

1955 (con't)

Japanese Evangelical Missionary Society was organized and incorporated in the state of California for the purpose of evangelization of Japanese wherever they may be and for strengthening the local churches and to fulfill her mission.

1957 The 80th Anniversary of Christian Mission of Japanese in America was observed. The Rev. Tosaji Obara was called from Japan to hold special evangelical meetings throughout the United States.

1959 Nisei pastors formed the Kato Overseas Scholarship Fund.

1962 The North American Japanese Christian Council was temporarily organized. Representatives from areas in the United States met in the Union Church of Los Angeles with the Rev. Kojiro Unoura presiding.

The Rev. Koji Honda was invited to lead evangelistic meetings throughout the United States. The Continental Evangelistic Program was launched, including at least 35 Japanese ministers and laymen speakers. The Southern California Christian Church Federation published the "85th Anniversary of Protestant Work among Japanese in North America" with the Rev. Koyoshi Shirauku as editor.

The 50th Anniversary of the founding of Southern California Japanese Christian Federation was celebrated. Three hundred Isseis and Niseis attended.

1964 The Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto of Hiroshima and Mrs. Haruko Kagawa of the Friends of Jesus and Miss Sumiko Miyamoto of Brazil preached and lectured in America.

- 1965     The Third Evangelical Conference of Japanese American Church Council of North America was held in Seattle, Washington, April 30 to May 2.
- Joint South-North Federations Retreat was held at California Hot Springs on October 4-7.
- 1966     The Japanese Evangelical Missionary Society commemorated the 15th year since its inception, with the Rev. Akira Hatori as special speaker.
- 1967     The 90th Anniversary of the Christian Mission of Japanese in North America was celebrated throughout the United States.
- Mrs. Izumi Masuda of Japan was invited to hold special evangelistic meetings in America during May through July.
- 1969     The Japanese Christian Church Women's Federation of Southern California held its 40th Anniversary Celebration.
- The Billy Graham Crusade hosted a special supper meeting at Anaheim for Asians in the Los Angeles area.
- A Buddhist-Christian Ministers Dialogue group was organized in Los Angeles.
- 1970     The Brazil Japanese Christian Delegation visited Southern California enroute to Expo 70 in Japan.
- 1971     The Southern California Japanese Christian Church Federation honored the Rev. and Mrs. Herbert V. Nicholson. Four hundred attended a testimonial dinner in their honor at the L. A. Free Methodist Church on January 31.
- 1972     The 95th Anniversary of the Christian Mission of Japanese in North America was celebrated throughout the United States. The Laymen's Delegation of Japan visited and helped with evangelistic programs in local Japanese churches.

1972 (con't)

The Southern California Japanese Christian Church Federation co-sponsored construction of the Little Tokyo Towers, a 300-unit federally subsidized apartment project for senior citizens built in the Little Tokyo.

1974 The Southern California Japanese Christian Church Federation and Japanese Evangelical Missionary Society co-sponsored a Japanese TV series "The Hour of Decision" which was enthusiastically received by the Japanese community in the south-land. It was telecast once a week for four months (February to May).

Centennial Celebration committee was organized in Northern California church Federation Annual meeting in January.

1975 JAPAN-U.S. CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE was held in Hawaii at the Alamoana Hotel, September 25th through the 29th, 1975. Six hundred and forty persons attended, including 120 from Japan, and 108 from the United States main land.

1976 Coordinating Council for Centennial Celebration organized.

The Church Federation and many local churches of the Japanese communities participated in the Bicentennial programs of America.

1977 The Centennial Celebration Co-ordinating Committee (CCCC) commemorated the 100th year of the Christian Mission of Japanese in North America.

"A Centennial Legacy"--History of Japanese Christian Missions in North America was published by the CCCC.

Koji Honda was called from Japan to lead evangelistic campaigns in all major Japanese communities in the United States.